

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

EDITED BY FREDERICK & EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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DEDICATION.

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK.

It has been decided to change the day of publication of this paper from Thursday to Friday in each week. This alteration will mean that the paper is in the hands of our readers one day later than has hitherto been the case.

The King's Speech.

The opening of Parliament has taken place, the King's Speech has been read, and once more Votes for Women is excluded from the list of prospective legislation. By this refusal to take the initiative in this reform members of the Cabinet have once more shown their inability to perceive the trend of public opinion, or to read the signs of the times.

The Limit of Cabinet Opposition.

If they think, however, that by this means they are going to stop the enfranchisement of women, they are very much

mistaken. For a little while, it may be, their efforts may be successful in postponing the inclusion of women among the electors of the country, but further than this they cannot go. The efforts of Mrs. Partington herself to keep out the waves of the sea would be more likely to be successful than the attempt to check the self-consciousness of citizenship which is so rapidly growing up in the ranks of the women of the country.

Action.

Of course, the refusal of the Government to deal with the question on its merits will mean action—action which those people who prefer peace to progress will dislike, but action which is none the less essential to humanity. Government rests only upon the consent of the governed, and those who, when their rights are unheeded, do not rebel against their condition, are themselves consenting parties to the denial of rights to themselves and their fellows; they are aiders and abettors of a Government which refuses to do justice.

A Speedy Answer.

By the time VOTES FOR WOMEN is in the hands of our readers the meeting called together by the Women's Freedom League in the Portman Rooms will have taken place, and it is understood that a determined attempt will be made by women delegates from all parts of the country to see Mr. Asquith in person, in order to discuss with him the failure of the Government to grant the enfranchisement of women. Whatever be the result of this meeting and deputation, it represents a blow struck in the cause of constitutional government, and in defence of the principles of equality of men and women.

The Women's Parliament.

The answer of the Women's Social and Political Union to the declaration of the Government contained in the King's Speech will be given on Wednesday next, February 24th. On that date the Union are holding a special meeting of women in the Caxton Hall, and from that meeting a deputation will go forth to take to the Prime Minister a resolution demanding immediate attention to the question of Women Suffrage. In our leading article of to-day Mrs. Pethick Lawrence calls upon women to come forward and show by their determination their resolution that the Government shall not remain an obstacle much longer to the emancipation of womankind.

The Bye-Elections.

Meanwhile a running fire is being kept up on the Government defences in various ways. In Scotland, at every one of the four bye-elections which are in progress, the National Women's Social and Political Union have taken the field. In Glasgow a number of vigorous meetings have already been held, one of which was addressed by Miss Christabel Pankhurst, who was received with very great attention by the Glasgow electors. Mrs. Pankhurst is now in charge, and is making good headway. Meetings are being held every day, both in the afternoon and evening, in all the constituencies, and considerable interest is shown in the position the women are advocating.

Great Meetings.

On Friday last two of the largest halls in the country were filled by Votes for Women meetings. At the Colston Hall,

Bristol, Mrs. Pankhurst addressed a crowded audience amid great enthusiasm. Miss Annie Kenney, who arranged the meeting, informs us that after paying all expenses a clear sum of £200 is available for the campaign in the West of England. At Liverpool, in the Sun Hall, which holds nearly 6,000 people, a meeting had been organised by Miss Mary Gawthorpe to be addressed by Miss Christabel Pankhurst and herself. The result was a magnificent success. Though all the seats, excepting in one small gallery, were ticket seats, there was not a vacant chair in the building, and Miss Pankhurst's address evoked not merely interest, but the heartiest support. We print an extract from the "Liverpool-Courier" which testifies to this result. In London the Monday afternoon At Home was held in the Scala Theatre, and an appreciative audience listened to Miss Pankhurst, Mr. Touche and Mr. Pethick Lawrence.

The Electoral Reform Bill.

We referred last week to the reply of Mr. Gladstone to the deputation of woman suffragists. Mr. Gladstone was reported to have said that if a Woman Suffrage amendment to the new Reform Bill were carried through the House of Commons it would receive the hearty support of the Government, but that the Government was not prepared to introduce or support an independent Suffrage Measure. This decision we regarded as totally unsatisfactory, because we know the pitfalls that await an Electoral Reform Bill. We now learn from letters published by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Lewis Harcourt, that Mr. Gladstone is not prepared to stand by even this unsatisfactory pronouncement. He now states that even though the amendment be proposed and carried through the House of Commons, the Government as a Government will not give it their support. We wonder whether, in view of this statement, there are any Liberal women who still believe in the *bona fides* of Mr. Asquith in the matter.

Political Prisoners.

On another page we give in full an instructive correspondence which has taken place between Mr. Herbert Gladstone and a woman Liberal, dealing with the imprisonments which have been inflicted upon members of the Women's Social and Political Union for demanding their political rights. Mr. Gladstone, as usual, attempts to evade responsibility in the matter, in spite of the obvious fact that the Government have the power to decide the method of treatment allotted to prisoners. He further claims that women have been put in the second-class because it would be intolerable that they should carry on their propaganda from within the walls of Holloway Gaol. Here we join direct issue with the Home Secretary, who has no right to use the resources of law and order to protect himself and his colleagues from the political agitation of his opponents. A more detailed discussion of this question will be found on page 360. Meanwhile three women are still detained in the second-class in Holloway for their action in Downing Street on January 25th. Their release on Saturday, February 27, and their welcome breakfast on the same day, are being looked forward to by members of the Union.

Features of this Issue.

Among the interesting features of this number will be found a further article by Mr. Laurence Housman on the "Physical Force" fallacy, and the introductory chapter of a series of articles by one of the editors dealing with the elements of the Woman Suffrage demand. We are pleased to be able to produce this week a cartoon, called "To-day's Lesson," especially designed for VOTES FOR WOMEN. Mr. Alfred Pearse, who has very kindly given us this cartoon, and who promises to design others for us in the future, is well known as an artist and designer of cartoons. He was the special artist for the "Sphere" on the Royal Colonial Tour in 1901-3, and has also exhibited at the Royal Academy and the Royal British Artists.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

To-night in London there will be the usual At Home in the St. James's Hall, Great Portland Street, to which all members and friends are welcome. Miss Christabel Pankhurst will be in the chair, and will deal with the current situation. At Homes are also held during the week in various parts of the country, particulars of which will be found on pages 362-364. Admission is free, and a cordial welcome is extended to all.

Other Meetings.

Among the special meetings during the week are those which are being held in the various bye-elections in Scotland, where Mrs. Pankhurst is conducting a vigorous campaign. On Monday, February 22, Miss Christabel Pankhurst is speaking at the Public Baths Hall, Wimbledon, and on Tuesday, February 23, in the Free Trade Hall, Birmingham. The Committee rooms for the Wimbledon meeting are at 6, Victoria Crescent, Wimbledon.

Monday At Home at the Queen's Hall.

Next Monday will be the usual weekly At Home at the Queen's Hall, Langham Place, to which all are welcome. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence hopes to be well enough to take the chair, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst will also speak. Admission is free. Before the speeches there will be an organ recital by Mrs. Mary Layton, F.R.C.O.

Lectures in the St. James's Hall.

Next Tuesday evening, February 23, Miss Elizabeth Robins will lecture at the St. James's Hall on the question "Shall Women Work?" Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will be in the chair. Tickets, price 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d., can be obtained from the Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

Women's Parliament.

With the decision of Mr. Asquith to exclude Woman Suffrage from the King's Speech, special interest attaches to the meeting which is being held in the Caxton Hall on February 24 by the Women's Social and Political Union. This meeting will be for women only, and from it a deputation will be sent to interview the Prime Minister at the House of Commons. At the meeting Mrs. Pankhurst takes the chair, and admission is by ticket, 1s. and 6d., which can be obtained from the Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

Self-Denial Week.

By the time this paper is in the hands of our readers the Self-Denial collecting cards will have been sent out to all subscribers and friends. We hope that as large a sum as possible will be put together in order to have a great campaign fund with which to meet the opposition of the Government during the year 1909.

Meeting in March in the Queen's Hall.

On Tuesday, March 23, a public meeting will be held in the Queen's Hall at 8 p.m., at which the amount realised by the Self-Denial week and the Self-Denial collecting cards will be made known. Mrs. Pankhurst will take the chair, and tickets, price 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d., which are now ready, can be obtained of the Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

Meeting in April in the Albert Hall.

On Thursday evening, April 29, a great meeting will be held by the National Women's Social and Political Union in the Albert Hall. The chair will be taken by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN will be interested to know that as soon as the hall had been booked for this meeting, in September last, the foreign delegates who will be on that day in London were sent a cordial invitation to be present. We learn from Mrs. Chapman Catt that a large number of them have already accepted, and complimentary tickets will accordingly be sent to them. This meeting is likely, therefore, to surpass in interest and success even those great meetings in the Albert Hall which we have held on previous occasions.

The Exhibition.

On page 354 we print a further account of the progress made in the arrangements for the Exhibition in the Prince's Skating

Rink from May 13 to 26. Our readers will notice that we are glad to record a steady increase in the kind promises, and we hope that all those who are prepared to take part will be able to give the Exhibition Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C., notice of their proposals before very long. There are now less than three months before the Exhibition opens, and this is a very short time in which to make all the necessary arrangements.

Breakfast to Prisoners.

The prisoners who were sent to Holloway on February 1 for attempting to see the Prime Minister in Downing Street will be released on Saturday morning, February 27. Arrangements are being made to give them a hearty welcome at the prison gates and to conduct them in a procession through the streets to the Inns of Court Hotel, where a special breakfast will be served. Tickets can be obtained, price 2s. each, from the Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

Selling "Votes for Women."

A special invitation is sent to members and friends of the Union to assist in selling VOTES FOR WOMEN. A VOTES FOR WOMEN corps is being collected of those who are willing to sell papers in the street, and all those who are able to take part in this exceedingly valuable work should send in their names to Mrs. Wilkinson, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C., or should call at the offices and ask for her room, which is situated on the ground floor.

Advertising Corps.

Workers are specially wanted on Saturday morning this week to assist in advertising the meeting in the Caxton Hall on Wednesday next. They should come to the office at 11 o'clock and ask for Miss Jessie Kenney. Those who are able to help in this way are requested to write beforehand, so that Miss Kenney may know the numbers that she is likely to have at her disposal.

Riding Corps.

It has been arranged to have a riding corps on Tuesday next to advertise the meeting on the following day. Will those who are willing to take part in this kindly write to Miss Jessie Kenney, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.?

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Feb. 18	London, Sloane Square	Miss Naylor, Miss E. Mackenzie	12 noon
	London, Orange Square, Pimlico Road	Miss Haig, Miss Sheppard, Miss Canning	12 noon
	Birmingham, Abram's Factory	Miss Gladice Keevil, Mrs. B. Smith	1.30 p.m.
	Edinburgh, At Home, Soc. of Arts Hall, 117, George St.	Miss Macaulay; chair, Mrs. Ivory	3.30 p.m.
	Glastonbury, Assembly Rms., Women's meeting	Miss Annie Kenney	3.30 p.m.
	Paignton, Masonic Hall	Miss Howey, Miss E. Ball	4-6 p.m.
	Kennington, outside Theatre	Miss Seymour, Mrs. Bartlett	7 p.m.
	Morley, Co-operative Hall	Miss Crocker, Miss Marsh, Miss Hartop	7.30 p.m.
	London, World's End, S.W.	Miss Hamilton - Williams, Miss Downing, Miss Kelly	7.30 p.m.
	Glastonbury, Public meeting, Assembly Rooms	Miss Annie Kenney	8 p.m.
	London, At Home, St. James' Hall, Great Portland Street	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Aberdeen, At Home, 41½, Union Street	Miss Flatman, Miss Isabel Seymour	8 p.m.
	Glasgow, At Home, 141, Bath Street	Miss Conolan, Miss Crocker	8 p.m.
	Edinburgh, Southside Police Station	Miss Macaulay	9.30 & 10.15 p.m.
	Wood Green, Unity Hall	Bowes Park W.S.P.U.	
Fri 19	Albert Embankment, S.W., Pockock's Milk Depot	Mrs. Bartlett, Mrs. Fahey	1 p.m.
	Birmingham, Dunlop Factory	Miss Gladice Keevil, Mrs. Bessie Smith	1.30 p.m.
	Harrington Rd., S.W., Queen's Gate Hall, Debate	Miss Helen Ogston, B.Sc., v. George Calderon, Esq.	3 p.m.
	Edinburgh, Merchiston Rms, Miss Begbie's At Home	Miss Macaulay, Dr. Elsie Inglis	3.30 p.m.
	Deptford Broadway	Mrs. Bouvier, Miss Townshend, and others	7 p.m.
	Sloane Square S.W.	Miss Canning, Miss Hamilton-Williams	7.30 p.m.
	World's End, S.W.	Miss Haig, Miss E. Mackenzie	7.30 p.m.
	Pimlico Rd., S.W., Orange Sq.	Miss Naylor, Miss Kelly	7.30 p.m.
	London, Regency Place	Miss Hannah Lightman, Miss Polak	7.30 p.m.
	Streatham, Whist Drive, 34, Ambleside Avenue		7.45 p.m.
	Bristol, Assembly Rooms, Stokes Croft	Miss Annie Kenney	8 p.m.
	Manchester, At Home, Onward Buildings, Deansgate	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	8 p.m.
	Aberdeen, Speaker's Class, 41½, Union Street	Miss Flatman, Miss Isabel Seymour	8 p.m.
	Plymouth, Treville St. Hall	Miss Howey and others	8 p.m.

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS—(Continued.)

Fri. 19	Twickenham, Town Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Hampstead, Drawing-room Meeting	Miss Barrett	
Sat. 20	Sloane Square, S.W.	Miss Naylor, Miss Sheppard	12 noon
	Pimlico Rd., S.W., Orange Sq.	Miss Haig, Miss Canning	12 noon
	Glasgow, At Home, Charing Cross Hall	Miss Adela Pankhurst, Miss Conolan	3 p.m.
	Barn Green, Friends' Meeting House	Lady Isabel Margesson, Mrs. Kerwood, Miss Gladice Keevil	8 p.m.
	Shapwick	Miss Annie Kenney	8 p.m.
	Balham, S.W., corner of Assembly Rooms	Mrs. Bartlett, Miss Mills	8 p.m.
Sun. 21	Hampstead Heath, N.W.	Miss Seymour, Mrs. Mosen, Mrs. Bartlett	11.30 a.m.
	Regent's Park, N.W.	Miss J. Seymour, Mrs. Nourse	3 p.m.
	Clapham Common, S.W.	Miss Jessie Kenney, Miss Mills	3 p.m.
	Peckham Rye, S.E.	Miss Nancy Lightman	3 p.m.
	Blackheath	Mrs. Bouvier and others	3 p.m.
	Battersea, Mossbury Road	Mrs. Bartlett, Miss Ainsworth	6 p.m.
	Battersea, Prince's Head	Mrs. Bartlett, Miss Ainsworth	8 p.m.
	Brixton, Brockwell Park	Miss Naylor	
	Yardley, Labour Church	Dr. Helen Jones	
Mon 22	London, At Home, Queen's Hall	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	3-5 p.m.
	Bristol, At Home, Victoria Rooms	Miss Annie Kenney and others	3.30 p.m.
	Cobden Statue, N.W.	Mrs. Bartlett	7.30 p.m.
	Wimbledon, Baths Hall	Miss Christabel Pankhurst; chair, Miss Evelyn Sharp	8 p.m.
	Higher Broughton, Debating Society	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	8 p.m.
	Bradford, 61, Manningham Lane, Workers' meeting	Miss Marsh	8 p.m.
	Hale, St. Baldreth's Hall	Miss Dora Marsden, B.A., Miss Margaret Hewitt	8 p.m.
	Chelsea, 4, Trafalgar Studios, Debate	Miss Winifred Mayo, Beginners' Class	8.45 p.m.
Tues. 23	Sloane Square, S.W.	Miss Naylor, Miss Downing	12 noon
	Greycoat Place, S.W.	Mrs. Bartlett	1 p.m.
	Pimlico Road, S.W., Orange Square	Miss Barry, Miss Haig, Miss Mackenzie	7.30 p.m.
	World's End, S.W.	Miss Sheppard, Miss Hamilton-Williams	7.30 p.m.
	Kennington Oval, outside	Mrs. Bartlett, Miss Carson	7.30 p.m.
	London, Lecture, St. James' Hall	Miss Elizabeth Robins; chair, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	8 p.m.
	Birmingham, Town Hall	Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Gladice Keevil, Dr. Helena Jones	8 p.m.
	Liverpool, Men's League Social	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	8 p.m.
	Barnes, Byfield Hall	Miss Higgins	8 p.m.
	Paisley, Board Room, Town Hall	Miss Conolan	
Wed. 2	Kensington, At Home	Kensington W.S.P.U.	4-6 p.m.
	London, Caxton Hall		7.30 p.m.
	Leeds, At Home, Arts Club	Miss C. Marsh	8 p.m.
	Accrington, Town Hall	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	8 p.m.
	Edinburgh, At Home, Marshall Street Hall	Miss Macaulay	8 p.m.
	Aberdeen, At Home, 41½, Union Street	Miss Flatman, Miss McRobie	8 p.m.
	Chelsea, 93, Oakley Street	Chelsea W.S.P.U.	8.30 p.m.
	N.E. London, Jewish Institute	Miss Hannah Lightman	
	Preston, 41, Glover's Court	Members' meeting	
	Wolverhampton, St. Peter's Institute	Dr. Helena Jones, Miss Boswell	
	Leeds, Drawing-room meeting, St. John's Terrace	Miss C. Marsh	
Thur. 25	Edinburgh, At Home, Soc. of Arts Hall, 117, George St.	Miss Ogston; chair, Miss Macaulay	3.30 p.m.
	Paignton, Masonic Hall		4-6 p.m.
	Leamington, Drawing-room meeting, St. Clement House	Mrs. Kerwood	5.30 p.m.
	London, At Home, St. James' Hall	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Glasgow, At Home, 141, Bath Street	Miss Conolan	8 p.m.
	Wood Green, Unity Hall	Bowes Park W.S.P.U.	
Fri. 26	Edinburgh, At Home, 11, York Place	Miss Macaulay	3.30 p.m.
	Plymouth, Treville St. Hall	Miss Howey and others	8 p.m.
	London, Debate, King's College	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Manchester, At Home, Onward Buildings, Deansgate	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	8-10 p.m.
	Crouch End, "Ye China Cup," Park Road	Hornsey W.S.P.U.	
Sat. 27	Chelsea, Self-denial Week	Open-air Collections	11 a.m.-8.30 p.m.
	Southport, At Home, Assembly Rooms	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	3-5 p.m.
	114, Regent's Park Rd., N.W., Drawing-room meeting		4 p.m.
	Glasgow, Charing Cross Hall	Miss Conolan	

In addition to the above, a large number of meetings are held in each of the Bye-elections (Forfarshire, Central Glasgow, South Edinburgh, and Hawick Burghs), the arrangements for which are made from day to day.

IMPORTANT FUTURE EVENTS.

Mar. 1	Newcastle-on-Tyne, Town Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst	8 p.m.
2	Glasgow, Athenaeum	Mrs. Pankhurst	..
4	Edinburgh, The Synod	Mrs. Pankhurst	..
5	Aberdeen, Music Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst	..
24	Manchester, Free Trade Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss M. Gawthorpe	..
My 13-26	Prince's Skating Rink	Exhibition and Sale of Work	..

THE "PHYSICAL FORCE" FALLACY.

BY LAURENCE HOUSMAN. Part I.—(Continued.)

Theorists who put forward these traits of unsocial and savage humanity as applicable in any fundamental sense to the present condition of society ignore the fact that modern States are far more ruled by economic than by purely physical forces. Far more remedial legislation has been brought about in the last hundred years by economic pressure than by threat of war or revolution; and especially is this true of legislation which has sought to better the conditions of the poor, the weak, and the ignorant. Democracy is gradually bringing us face to face with the fact that, if we remain too long deaf to the moral appeal, we must yield eventually to the economic; and unfortunately we have had to wait again and again, under our one-sided representative system, for the economic pressure to be felt before right has been done. We know in our own history how the Jews and the Roman Catholics, though in each case a small minority, had to be enfranchised because their disenfranchisement proved a weakness to the economy of the State, and an offence to the public conscience. We know also how the passive resistance of the Quakers, whose tenets would never have allowed them to resort to physical violence, brought about, in 1843, the reform of those unjust laws of marriage registration to which every other section of Nonconformity had yielded unwilling submission. In all those matters physical force played a very small part, and conscience and economic force a very large part; and the pressure of morality and of economics in public affairs does not grow less as time goes on.

How a New Class Becomes Enfranchised.

At the present day in this country a large majority of men between the ages of twenty-one and sixty is already possessed of the Parliamentary franchise, and those who remain unenfranchised are, numerically, physically, and economically, the less powerful section of the community. From the physical force standpoint it would, therefore, be quite gratuitous for the present electorate to hand over any share of its power to others. But we know perfectly well that if, from this still unenfranchised class of the community, were to come a persistent and resolute demand for the further extension of the franchise, something would have to be done to meet the claim. The issue would not depend on a mere counting of noses or a weighing-up of physical forces, but on the genuineness and intensity of the demand, and on the straight, plain, staring fact that a strongly determined minority which puts forward a claim based on justice, can bring such economic pressure to bear on the Administration and the Legislature that even an unwilling majority has perforce to yield. The power to organise and the determination to agitate are in themselves the beginning of a qualification for political enfranchisement, for they are a proof of political vitality, and show that a fresh section of the community has awoken from sleep. As long as any class, through ignorance or lack of will, remains quiescent and consenting to the rule of others, as long as, in return for benefits real or supposed, it is willing to obey laws in the making of which it has had no share, so long can the State afford to withhold from it direct representation. But if its members become conscious that such conditions are ignominious, and begin to rebel against them; if they say, "Though weaker than you in physical power, or fewer in numbers, we are willing and determined to take our

share in the government of the State," then you have a new force to reckon with; a section of the community which was previously, from a political point of view, a negligible quantity, has taken to itself a new attribute, and presents, by the awakening of its will for citizenship, a claim which no democracy can afford to withstand. The mere demonstration of that desire for citizenship will draw to it a body of support from the already enfranchised—and especially from those social workers who know how far-reaching a weakness to the State is the sloth and indifference of its citizens—such as will, in the end, bear down the opposition of class prejudice and privilege. The willing service of its citizens is to the State like fresh air to a man's dwelling. Stupid, physical force may for a time shut it out; and when, to avoid suffocation, it resorts to ventilation, stupid, physical force no doubt imagines that it has done so entirely on its own initiative. The more ignorant a man is of the invisible forces which govern his life, the more will he fail to realise the nature of that power which drives him, "in the last resort," to open the door for the fresh air whose cold draught he so much dislikes. And so, I suppose, to the end of the chapter, a certain class of mind will continue to regard the State as the swayed and not the swayer of physical forces, being unable to apprehend the workings of that divine chemistry which, by invisible ways, is bringing about, daily and hourly, the evolution of man.

Now, if physical force were the basis of man's rule in the State, it should also be the basis of man's rule in the home. But we know quite well that those homes where it is the basis do not show the best results, nor are they regarded as beneficent types of what a home should be. To say that the physical compulsion of wives is the *ultima ratio* of average home life is an idiotic statement. Economic compulsion there very often is, and it is the unjust economic pressure imposed on married women under modern conditions which keeps many an unhappy home from falling apart; but were physical compulsion added, the turning-point, in a great many cases, would be reached, and the application of your "true basis of government" would lead to the breaking up of many more homes than is now the case. No doubt our physical force preachers will argue that the compulsory powers of the husband have merely passed into the hands of the State. But that is not the case. The State, it is true, tried for a while to assume them, but the attempt has broken down; and, though some of the old formulæ remain, the claim—in this country, at all events—has been abandoned. Even in France, where the Napoleonic Code still gives the husband the right to the service of two gendarmes to enforce his will upon a reluctant wife, such a disgusting and farcical remedy is never attempted; the public conscience would not stand it, nor, in some cases, would the lives of the husbands who invoked it be safe.

Behind the Fighting Line.

Now this tendency toward enfranchisement in the home is finding its inevitable reflection in the State; and the final argument which is set up against its logical fulfilment in the grant of the parliamentary franchise is the assertion that women cannot fight, and are unable, therefore, to fulfil the primary duties of citizenship by defending their country from attack. I shall hope on a future occasion to show how closely the constitution of a modern army resembles the constitution of the State, and how small a part of the absolutely necessary whole is formed by the fighting-line. And if it can be shown that without non-combatants a modern army cannot exist nor war be waged, then it will be a very strange order of intelligence that denies to women their full rights of citizenship, merely because their position in the national army may happen to be behind the fighting-line.

HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST. XLIV.—Deputation to the Prime Minister, February, 1907.

On February 12, 1907, Parliament met, and the King's Speech, so eagerly awaited by the voteless women, was duly read. It contained, as we know, no reference to woman suffrage, but it promised that legislation should be introduced to enable women to sit upon town and county councils.

In making this small concession of justice, the Government had doubtless hoped to gloss over their refusal to grant women the political rights for which they were made to pay, and that they themselves, instead of being regarded as the oppressors, might pose as the champions of womanhood. They probably imagined also that the energy of the women's movement might be largely diverted from its present course by the work of promoting the candidatures of women as town and county councillors.

But in all these things Cabinet Ministers were destined to be disappointed, for the women understood well that had the Parliamentary franchise been theirs they would easily have won for themselves the smaller privilege that had just been granted to them. Realising how small the privilege was in comparison with the full rights of citizenship which they had demanded, and knowing that small as it was this privilege would not have been granted to them but for the militant suffrage agitation, the women were determined to carry on this agitation of theirs with even greater vigour than before. Therefore, when on the following afternoon (Wednesday, February 13), at three o'clock, the W.S.P.U. held its first Women's Parliament in the Caxton Hall, the leaders and the rank and file of the women's movement there assembled prepared to take strong and decisive action.

The first resolution, moved by Annie Kenney, was:—

That this meeting expresses its profound indignation at the omission from the King's Speech of any declaration that the Government intend to enfranchise the women of the country during the present session of Parliament, and calls upon the House of Commons to insist that precedence shall be given to a measure to remove at once and forever the degrading disability of sex.

This resolution was carried with enthusiasm, such enthusiasm as the Caxton Hall has only known in these Women's Parliaments, and which women before then had hardly learnt to show.

To the House of Commons!

When the cheering had died away Mrs. Pankhurst moved from the chair that the resolution should be conveyed by a deputation from that meeting to the Prime Minister and the Cabinet. This proposal was also agreed to with every demonstration of fervent eagerness, and when the watchword, "Rise up, women!" was sounded, the answer, "Now!" came in a great unanimous shout, and hundreds of women volunteers sprang to their feet. Mrs. Despard (General French's sister) was chosen to lead the deputation, and as each woman marched out of the Caxton Hall a copy of the resolution for the Prime Minister was put into her hands.

In the street outside the women formed up four abreast into an orderly procession, and, cheered by the men and women who had gathered in sympathy, they started off. With police walking on either side, the procession marched into Victoria Street, and on towards the House of Commons, but when those who led it reached the green in front of the Abbey, they were met by an inspector, who told them that they could go no further, and ordered his men to break up the procession. The police strode through and through the ranks of women, but they united again on the other side, and pressed bravely on. A little further they went in this way, and then suddenly a body of mounted police came riding up.

In an instant Mrs. Despard and several others in the front rank were arrested, and the troopers were urging their horses into the midst of the women and scattering them right and left. Full of high courage, the Suffragettes still strove to reach their destination, and returned again and again; but with increasing violence they were driven back. Those who rushed from the roadway on to the pavement were pressed by the horses closer and closer against the walls and railings, until at last they retreated or were dragged away. Those who took refuge in doorways were dragged roughly down the steps by the ordinary policemen, and hurled in front of the horses.

In the meantime, a body of the women who had met in the Exeter Hall had also tried to reach the House of Commons from the Whitehall direction, but they also had been driven back. By six o'clock thirty women had been arrested and taken to Cannon Row Police Station.

Just about this time it was found that in one way or another fifteen of the Suffragists had succeeded in making their way into the Strangers' Lobby of the House of Commons. Here they attempted to hold a meeting, but were promptly ejected by the police. In the confusion that ensued, two of the women succeeded in getting past the barriers and making their way down the passage leading to the inner Lobby. Here one of them was caught and hustled out. The other, Mrs. Kendall, had just reached the swing doors leading to the inner Lobby, when a member set his foot against the door and slammed it in her face. She was thrown to the ground, and carried out in a fainting condition.

At eight o'clock in the evening the Women's Parliament met again, and once more the women marched out with their resolution. This time Christabel Pankhurst went with them, and was arrested almost immediately. Until ten o'clock the women went on fighting, and as time passed the police, whose orders were to disperse the women with as few arrests as possible, became more and more violent. As the women marched forward, always facing towards the House of Commons, the police-constables rushed towards them, caught them roughly by the shoulders, and turned them round; then, seizing them by the scruff of the neck and thumping them on the back, they pushed them down the street. At last a further batch of twenty-four women and two men, all of them bruised and dishevelled, were taken to the police station, whence after the House rose they were bailed out by Mr. Pethick Lawrence. Each was served with a summons to attend the Westminster Police Court next day.

Questions in the House.

On the adjournment of the House, Mr. Claude Hay raised the question of the day's disturbance. He asked the Home Secretary whether it was necessary to put members to the inconvenience to which they had been put owing to a large number of mounted police and hundreds of unmounted men having surrounded the Houses of Parliament as if it had been a fortress instead of a deliberative assembly. He thought that the House should be put in possession of the facts which had led the Home Secretary to make these arrangements. It appeared, he said, as though the right hon. gentleman were frightened by women. The women were entitled to make a protest. This might not be agreeable to hon. members, but they only did it to show that they were in earnest. There was no need to browbeat these women by using force. He hoped that the deplorable incidents outside the House of Commons would not be repeated. Mr. Gladstone replied that he had very little knowledge of what had been going on outside the House, but Mr. Hay interrupted him here with, "Then you ought to have." Whereupon the Home Secretary hesitated and changed his tone. The police had general instructions, he said, to keep open the approaches to the House. He considered that the police on this occasion had only done their duty, and he hoped that they would continue to do it.

(To be continued.)

ELEMENTS OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE DEMAND.

By F. W. Pethick Lawrence.—Introduction.

Woman Suffrage has been for such a long time under discussion that one is sometimes tempted to assume that everyone knows all that there is to be said about it. As far back as 1821, when the campaign for the extension of the suffrage was being organised, women took their share with men in the terrible events of Peterloo, and women as well as men suffered injury in the course of that struggle. Ever since 1865 the agitation for woman suffrage has been continuous, and during these years more than one society has been in existence which has been pushing forward the educational side of the question. The Women's Social and Political Union since the commencement of their present militant methods of agitation in 1905 have carried on the double work of fighting and educating simultaneously. They have to fight to-day, as the warriors did of old, with the sword in one hand and the trowel in the other. Or, to change the metaphor, while the fundamental business of the Union is a direct attack upon the Government of the day who are the obstacle to the enfranchisement of women, yet at the same time they have to fight a rearguard action against the straggling hosts which still are opposed to the principles of woman suffrage.

The Anti-Suffragists.

Among these opponents the most interesting are those who have banded themselves into Anti-Suffrage Societies, and have been accordingly forced to try and formulate arguments to support the faith that is in them. The weakness of these arguments and their mutually inconsistent character have already done good spade work in favour of woman suffrage. It is said that during the South African War the Boers expressed themselves as glad of the presence on the British side of a certain class of untrained volunteers, because they presented an easy prey, and when captured provided additional stores of ammunition to their captors. The Anti-Suffragists are of even more assistance in furthering the cause of woman suffrage, because not only do they provide their enemies with a store of ammunition, but of personnel. In fact, they prove excellent recruiting sergeants, introducing the subject into quarters where it would otherwise be taboo, and ultimately bringing into the ranks of the Women's Social and Political Union many recruits who, but for their opposition, would never have become acquainted with the movement. The opposition is, in fact, parallel to that which is described in Molesworth's History. Speaking of a society which was formed to oppose the Anti-Corn Law League, he says:—

This association was rather a help than a hindrance to the work of the league. By promoting discussion it drew attention to the arguments of free traders and thus hastened the spread and prevalence of the truth.

And the same is true of those who are opposing the Suffrage Societies at the present day.

The Need for Enlightenment.

Many people to-day are so fully conscious of the deplorable condition in which many women live that they say they would be prepared to do anything in their power which would abolish the evils of sweating and give women a better chance and a better opportunity of making their way in the world; yet they do not understand how it is that the possession of the vote is held by women suffragists to be a means to this end. Again, others see that the point of view which women take upon many questions of the day does not receive the full consideration to which it is entitled, but they ask what evidence can be adduced to show that if women received the Parliamentary vote an added consideration would be given to their opinions. Others, while they agree with the exponents of woman suffrage as to the

necessity of obtaining the Parliamentary vote, find themselves out of accord with the methods which are employed by the Women's Social and Political Union in order to obtain their ends.

Upon all these points it is hoped that the series of articles of which this is the first will be of value in furnishing our readers with arguments with which to meet their opponents.

Scope of the Series.

This series will take the form of thirteen chapters, which it is proposed to arrange as follows:—

In the first chapter there will be a re-statement of what it is that women are asking for, and an explanation of why they have chosen this particular demand, and also of the effect which it is likely to produce. Attention will be given to what they are not asking for, and the reason why they are not doing so. Finally, the immediate urgency of the position will be emphasised.

The second chapter will be devoted to the legislative inferiority of women on account of their voteless condition. This will be illustrated by showing the laws which are already in force and the Bills which are being discussed at the present time. It will be shown that the outlook for the future will be still more serious for women unless they obtain the Parliamentary vote.

The third chapter will be devoted to the administrative inferiority of women, for in England the right to vote confers not merely control of the Legislature but of the administration. This was decided centuries ago, when the King's Ministers were made subject to Parliament. It is here, perhaps, more than in any other way, that women have lost so much by their exclusion from the franchise.

In the fourth chapter the inferior status of women will be considered. Until woman suffrage is granted women are classed with paupers, aliens, lunatics, and children, and the effect of this position will be illustrated and made clear.

In the fifth chapter a short story will be given of the constitutional demand that was made for the vote, ending with the acceptance of defeat in the year 1884 and the steady retrogression of the movement from that day until the commencement of the militant agitation in 1905.

The Militant Methods.

The ideas which underlie the militant methods of agitation will be considered in the sixth chapter. A description will be given of what the methods are, and a categorical denial given of what they are not and have not been, in spite of the frequent statements to the contrary which have received publicity through the Press and through private individuals.

The seventh chapter will be devoted to the story of the origin of militant methods.

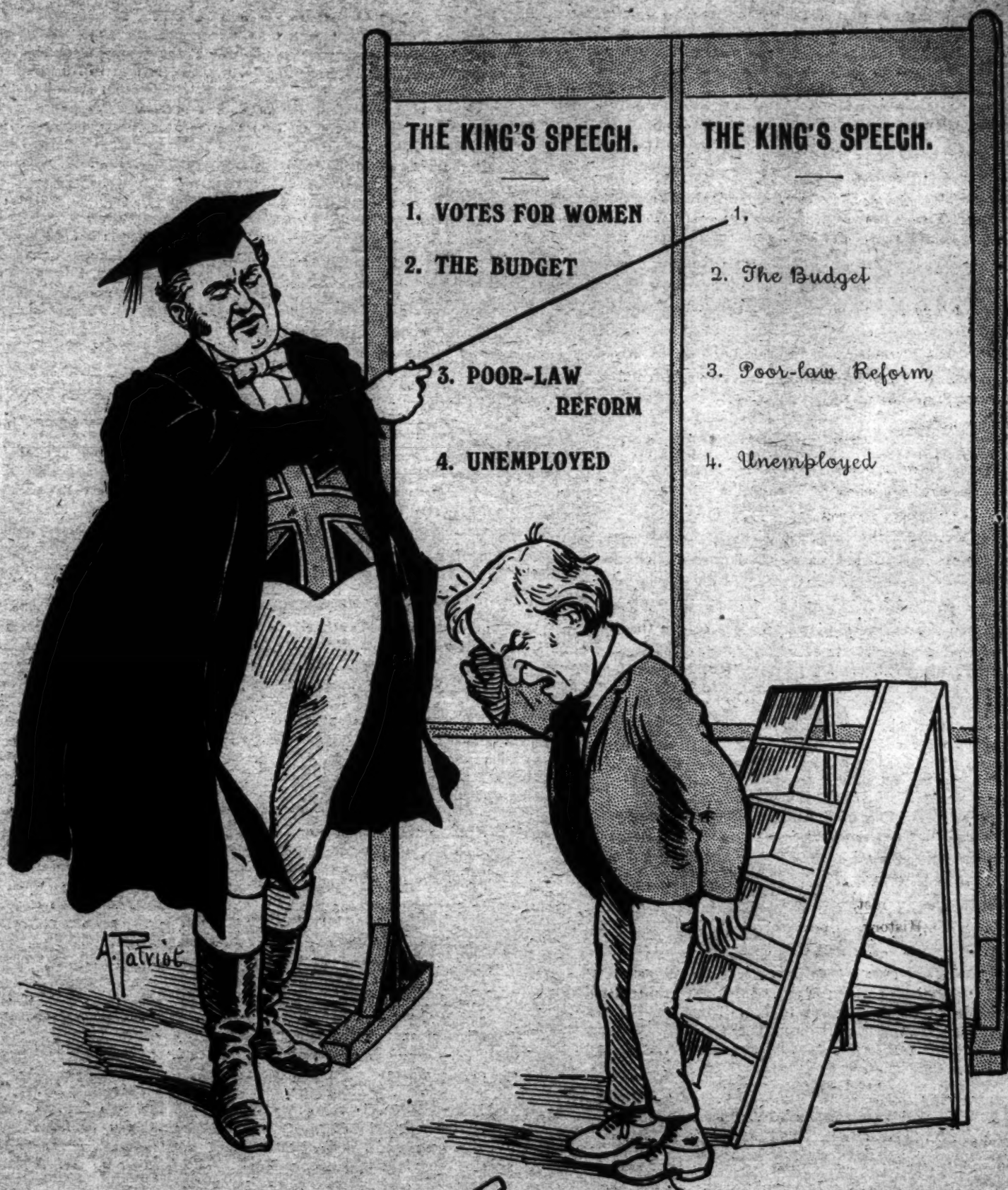
In the eighth chapter it will be shown how it is that the Liberal Government are the one obstacle to woman suffrage, and why, therefore, the attack of the Women's Social and Political Union is directed against them.

The ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters will be devoted to a consideration of the various militant methods adopted by the Union—the Bye-Election Policy, Protests at Cabinet Ministers' Meetings, and the Demonstrations in the streets.

The twelfth chapter will be devoted to a digression upon the treatment of the woman suffrage prisoners in Holloway Prison, and a comparison made with the treatment of other political prisoners in Great Britain and on the Continent.

And the thirteenth chapter will be a summary of the results arrived at and a conclusion upon the whole matter.

TO-DAY'S LESSON.



THE KING'S SPEECH.

DOCTOR JOHN BULL: "Why have you left out the principal measure? Put it in at once!"

OBSTINATE BOY: "I shan't! I won't!"

OUR POST BOX.

DEAR MRS. PANKHURST,—As a small contribution to the Women's Social and Political Union, I beg to offer you the use of my two Parliamentary votes—one for Marylebone and the other for the Basingstoke Division of North Hants. I promise to use them entirely as you may direct until the women of Britain receive their political liberty. This offer I make on two grounds:—

Firstly, because I place justice before everything.

Secondly, because I wish to show the Government that I, as a voter, feel that they are defiling the name of Liberal.

If of any service to the cause, you are welcome to publish this.

Deeply sympathising with you all in your brave fight, yours truly,

JULIUS SINGER.

55a, Gloucester Place, Portman Square, W.,
February 6, 1909.

HOW TO HELP "VOTES FOR WOMEN."

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—Miss Newill here has been trying to popularise VOTES FOR WOMEN. She orders two extra copies from her newsagent, one of which she sends away and the other is put direct into our local free library every week. She has also rented a space for six months on the G.W.R. bookstall for the poster, which is exposed now in a prominent place there.—Yours, etc.,

JOAN T. CROMBIE.

Whitloch Cottage, Leamington, February 4, 1909.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—I have arranged with a newsagent, Harrison, Toward Road, Sunderland, to exhibit a poster of VOTES FOR WOMEN. I will at the same time try and get subscribers.—Yours, etc.,

14, Nelson Street, Sunderland.

M. E. BRUNNER.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—I do not think the members of the Union realise how much good they can do by selling papers in the street, otherwise we should have a much longer list of volunteers than we actually have. Going out in the street is a very efficacious way of attracting "outsiders," and far more important than the selling of the paper is the opportunity one has of explaining doubtful points to those who come to buy. For it is amazing how ignorant the public still is—with all the gossip of the Press—concerning the aim of the Union and the whole character of its argument. Sometimes the simplest little explanation, as, for instance, that the Union demands the vote only for taxpayers and ratepayers, will change an opponent into a sympathiser. We ought to have members selling papers on all the principal streets of London every day of the week; it would double our rate of growth. The work, too, is simple. It takes very little time; by giving one hour of the day—say, three times a week—we can get three dozen papers sold. The police support us splendidly; the crowd, is, for the most part, friendly. There is only a little twinge of protesting self-consciousness to overcome at the beginning of the work; once you are started, you are surprised to find how naturally you fall into the rôle of paper seller, and how much real amusement and interest you can extract from it. Above all, the work is of vital importance to us. If we want to win the crowd, we must take our papers in hand and go out to them.—Yours, etc.,

ONE OF THE VOTES CORPS.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—I enclose two questions which I should be glad to have answered. I am delighted to hear VOTES FOR WOMEN is to be enlarged. I think it is the most interesting periodical in existence, and wish it every success.—Yours, etc.,

EVELYN V. SLAY.

Gravesend, February 7.

THE MILLINERY STALL AT THE EXHIBITION.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN

DEAR SIR,—As I reflect that in the Women's Exhibition to be opened in May a millinery stall will naturally occupy a prominent position, I feel myself impelled to put in a plea for the birds, and to suggest that women should take the opportunity of dissociating themselves from "Murderous Millinery." A hat and bonnet stall in which ospreys and the stuffed bodies of birds were conspicuous by their absence would be a wonderful demonstration of the merciful ingenuity of women.—Yours, etc.,

CLARA EVELYN MORDAN.

"A GENERAL ELECTION."

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—With the opening of a new session we are being confronted again by the argument used by Mr. Lloyd George at the Albert Hall, on December 5, that "A Reform Bill can only be introduced by a Government shortly before a General Election, because it has always been so, and precedents are not easily unmade."

This statement is constantly repeated both by the Press and at public meetings, and yet on examination it is found to be entirely incorrect. The Reform Bill of 1832 is the only case which affords even the appearance of truth in this declaration, for then Parliament dissolved six months after the passing of the measure. But at that period the registration laws which make it impossible for a qualified person to exercise the vote for a considerable time after becoming qualified were not in force, and therefore the newly enfranchised electors were able to vote at the ensuing General Election. In neither 1867 nor in 1884 was the Reform Bill introduced shortly before a General Election, nor was such an appeal to the country even expected, for in both cases the office of Premier changed hands without such an election being thought necessary. Thus, in 1867, though the Franchise Bill was passed on April 11, the Parliament did not dissolve until November 11, 1868, nineteen months after. Again, in 1884, the measure was carried on October 24, Parliament not dissolving till December, 1885, a period of fourteen months. What confidence then can a Government expect to gain from women when by the mouths of its chief apologists it makes use of such inaccuracies? The vain excuses and mis-statements put forward are the condemnation of this present Liberal (or, rather, so-called Liberal) Government; proving that its policy in this matter at least is one of self-interested procrastination.—I am, Sir, your sincerely,

THEODORA BONWICK.

(A quondam member of the Women's Liberal Federation, now Secretary of the Hornsey W.S.P.U.)

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Questions intended for answer in this column should be addressed to the Editors "Votes for Women," and specially marked "Answers to Correspondents." They must be accompanied by name and address of the sender, and should be questions relating directly to Woman Suffrage or to the policy of the N.W.S.P.U.

49. If women were given the vote would it not be in accordance with precedent for the Government to appeal immediately to the country? In which case, can we expect the present or any Government to give the vote before the very end of their term of office?

The answer is "No." We refer our questioner to the interesting letter by Theodora Bonwick which appears above.

50. What are the laws which press more hardly on women than on men?

The most important are those which regulate the guardianship of children. The other marriage laws and the laws of inheritance at every point are disadvantageous to the woman.

For a fuller list see VOTES FOR WOMEN, Answers to Correspondents, August 6, 1908.

51. What are the laws which presuppose that the father has more right to the children than the mother?

In English law the child born in marriage has only one parent—i.e., the father; he alone has the right to decide the child's future—how it shall be educated, what religion it shall profess, whether it shall be vaccinated, etc. For further details see "The Importance of the Vote," by Mrs. Pankhurst, price one penny. (Published by The Woman's Press, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.)

52. Why do you not agitate for adult suffrage straight away, instead of for limited woman suffrage?

This question will be fully dealt with next week in the second article of the series which we begin this week on "The Elements of the Woman Suffrage Demand."

53. Certain prison reforms are said to have been the direct result of the militant suffragette agitation. Kindly enumerate these.

The appointment of the first woman inspector of prisons, Dr. Mary Gordon, is the direct outcome of this agitation. Certain improvements in diet, associated labour, library facilities, have also been made, and, in addition, the provision of backs to the stools used in the cells, and the substitution of metal spoons for the medically unhygienic wooden ones.

54. How will women in lodgings be affected by the lodger franchise, as at present given to men, when women have the vote? I understand that 4s. a week for unfurnished and from 5s. a week for furnished rooms is the recognised standard. But how is this affected by the fact that attendance is included? Will the fact that we pay from 10s. to 15s. a week for rooms and attendance entitle us to a vote?

Four shillings a week is the recognised standard. In cases where a doubt arises as to whether the rooms in question are actually of the required value, the revising barrister would probably inquire into the matter of attendance, but where so large a sum is paid for rooms and attendance as 10s. or 15s. a doubt as to the rooms being of the necessary value could hardly arise.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PRESS.

"TORQUAY TIMES," February 12.

Mrs. Pankhurst, so recently released from prison, does not look as if solitary confinement has had any "salutary" effect in subduing her inconvenient opinions. She is still as full of the old fire as ever, but one remarkable and commendable feature of her speech was that it showed no trace of personal bitterness or revengeful spirit. Few would imagine that the quiet-mannered, womanly lady who stood on the platform was the leader and commander of the militant hosts of Suffragism who strike consternation into the hearts of Cabinet Ministers and require at times 6,000 London police to keep them in order. Whether those present agreed or not with the cause of Female Suffrage and the methods pursued, they will freely admit that Mrs. Pankhurst made an admirable speech. Her manner and matter were alike good. The address she gave was a calm, well-reasoned, statesmanlike exposition of the movement, which, by its moderation and common sense, must have appealed to many. She showed at least that there are many prejudices against Votes for Women that are not well-founded, and that what is now aimed at is not a universal suffrage for women, as has been represented, but that women who are qualified to vote upon the same basis as men are at present should not be denied equal justice. This, of course, greatly simplifies the demand, and is merely an extension of the rights already conceded to women as regards the municipal franchise. But it was when Mrs. Pankhurst replied to the questions put that she "came out" and showed the "fire" within. She is as ready and effective in her answers as any politician who ever took the platform, and the impression she conveyed was that she is a woman full of nobility of character and purpose, and will not be easily deterred from her championship of a cause she believes to be for the welfare of her "down-trodden" sisterhood.

"LIVERPOOL COURIER," February 13.

At the impressive Sun Hall Suffragist meeting of last night, Miss Pankhurst claimed that the enormous size of the gathering was a vindication of the militant methods of which she herself was the initiator. Would anything like that number have assembled, she asked, if the Suffragettes had been more gentle with politicians? Obviously, the boisterous "No" which the audience shouted back at her was the truth. And yet we dare wager that another cause had helped to pack the Sun Hall; not, indeed, a cause remote from Miss Pankhurst's contention, but quite separable from it—the chance, namely, of hearing and seeing Miss Pankhurst herself. There cannot be the slightest doubt that this lady has proved herself one of the most brilliant agitators of the day. Everyone knows that the militant policy was invented by her, and everyone also knows that she has discomfited Cabinet Ministers both physically and mentally. Miss Pankhurst's speech was far too excellent in clarity and persuasiveness to need any commentary here on its political aspect; but writing, as we do, with her gestures and modulations still vivid in our memory, we cannot help saying something on its artistic aspect. There are not too many orators nowadays, and when we find one we are justified in proclaiming it. The most moving speech is apt to go flatly into print, but that is no criterion of its quality as a speech. Oratory must be judged at the moment of its deliverance, and, judging it so, Miss Pankhurst's speech was good art. She played on her audience like a musical executant. The rhythm of prose is not always communicated by a speaker, but Miss Pankhurst has an advantage over masculine orators in her ability to reinforce her words with momentary subtle attitudes and the physical rhythm of gesture. It was not only with her hands that she emphasised her delivery, but with all her physique; so that "one might almost say her body thought." There must certainly have been something strangely compelling in Miss Pankhurst's oratory, for, among other feats, she induced her audience to unite with her in astonishment at the moderation of the militant Suffragists' methods. At the present time, surely, that is no small achievement.

The "DAILY MIRROR," February 10.

Women have come forward with commendable promptitude to assist in the great cause of the defence of hearth and home.

Sergeant-Major Katie Baker, of the First Aid Nursing Yeomanry Corps, went out last week on a recruiting expedition in Whitehall, the Embankment, and Charing Cross.

She wore the full service uniform of red, white, and blue, and her presence created considerable interest.

Scores of young ladies went up to her and asked her for forms of application to join the corps, and she not only received many promises of support, but succeeded in impressing young men with the duty they owe to their country.

At the Horse Guards Sergeant-Major Katie Baker, who is the daughter of Captain Baker, of Shirley House, Lee, Kent, was besieged by ladies seeking information, and the Life Guardsmen stationed there took an especial interest in her mission, and asked innumerable questions about the work of the corps.

All the members of the corps are accomplished in the art of riding, and in time of war they will render invaluable services by galloping up to the trenches with first-aid appliances and bringing back the wounded slung on horseback to the field hospital. They are trained under competent instructors at the Albany Street Barracks and the riding schools at Regent's Park and Islington.

(A special illustration of Sergeant-Major Katie Baker is given on page 355.)

THE "DAILY MAIL," February 12.

"It is not a burden that young men who come forward for the Territorials take upon themselves," said General Ian Hamilton at Andover, "it is an honourable obligation. Those who shirk it will be punished by their consciences; they are being punished now by the rise of the Suffragettes, who have lost all respect for young men whose only weapon is a tongue not half so penetrating or capable as their own."

"WALLASEY NEWS," February 13.

VOTES FOR WOMEN: An unusually interesting number, and one that can scarcely fail to advance the cause. . . . The members of this up-to-date Union have both courage and the sinews of war to help them.

The "NEWCASTLE DAILY JOURNAL."

We notice that Mr. Winston Churchill's address at the Town Hall last night was "to men only." The hunter of big game in Africa, and the man who went to Birmingham to beard the lion in his den when the lion wasn't there, fears a Suffragist as much as a woman fears a mouse. It is easy to make valiant speeches when the enemy is kept at a distance by a strong bodyguard. We have heard of Dutch courage, but have never before realised quite what it meant.

"THE ENGLISHWOMAN'S YEAR-BOOK"

That useful annual "The Englishwoman's Year-Book" contains in its issue for 1909, as in previous years, a mass of information in a convenient form for reference. The book is divided into fifteen sections, dealing with education, employment and professions, industries, medicine, pharmacy and dentistry, science, literature, art, music, sports and pastimes, animals, travel, and public work.

The section dealing with women's trades is, perhaps, one of the most interesting and informing. It will come as news to many people that women are employed as "dustwomen"; this, is, as might be expected, one of the lowest and worst-paid of women's trades, the conditions of which may well be cited as an instance of the need for the direct expression of the woman's point of view in social legislation. Those sections dealing with employment, professions, etc., are full of practical details of value to the young woman deciding on her career, giving as they do information concerning training, prospects of work, approximate salaries, and hints and warnings as to the condition of the labour market.

Turning to public work, readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN will naturally look up Suffrage Societies, and will be interested in the account of the militant movement of which the writer, compressing her remarks into tabloid form, says:—

Based on recognition of the fact that Governments yield only in response to pressure, a vigorous anti-government campaign has been carried on, which has succeeded in pushing the question of Woman's Suffrage to the very forefront of practical politics.

Other sections deal with general and legal information, women's societies, clubs and social life, philanthropy, temperance, homes and societies, and religious work. The book is to be obtained from the Woman's Press, 4, Clements Inn, London, W.C., price 2s. 6d. net.

THE WOMAN'S EXHIBITION.

Prince's Skating Rink : May 13-26, 1909.

British women who are fighting for political enfranchisement are not alone in their great struggle, and the knowledge of this fact is one of the sources of their power. The movement in this country is a part of the great woman's movement throughout the world, which is, as one of the women now in prison for the cause has said, a part of evolution.

From the most unexpected quarters of the globe comes news of this great awakening—the new spirit—among women; even from China, where we learn that 10,000 women of all grades of society recently attended a political meeting in Canton, while the casting off of the veil in Turkey is perhaps even more striking.

One of the signs of the new spirit among women is the expression of kinship which it calls forth, and we have now before us an offer from a German lady to help the English Suffragettes by working for

An International Stall.

This suggestion is full of possibilities. What about Finland, with its splendid achievement and its twenty-five women members of Parliament; Russia, with its recent first great Suffrage Congress; Denmark, described in *VOTES FOR WOMEN* by Evelyn Sharp as "The country where Queen means Woman"; Germany, with its slow but steady woman's movement; Norway, where women are so far ahead of England with regard to Parliamentary enfranchisement; France, with its energetic Suffrage workers and its clever business women; Italy, which has a commission sitting to consider the question of Woman Suffrage? All these have daughters in England to whom the Exhibition comes as a practical opportunity of showing their sense of the universality of the great woman's movement throughout the world. The Exhibition Secretary will be glad to hear from any woman ready to do her share in helping her sisters in this country towards making the Exhibition and Sale the success the English Suffragettes are determined it shall be.

An American Stall.

Nowhere is the struggle going on more energetically than in the United States, and an American lady has come forward with the suggestion that, apart from the International Stall, there should also be an American Stall.

There are many Americans in England, and we have many friends across the water. The militant Suffragists in America have recently given warm expressions of sympathy and goodwill towards the British women who are fighting for political freedom, and we should like to suggest to our American cousins that they take the opportunity of showing in a practical way their sense of kinship with the English Suffragettes. An American stall at once suggests the many interesting and useful things with which it might be decked. We chronicled not long ago some useful inventions of American women which were offered for sale on a stall at a suffrage bazaar in New York, while above the stall floated a banner with the words: "Women who use these labour-saving inventions can find plenty of time to vote." In an American magazine there appeared recently a criticism on the dress of the English as compared with the American woman; perhaps American Suffragists would like to follow up this as a suggestion. The Exhibition secretary would be glad to know what prospects our American friends can give of support for an American stall.

Among many offers of help during the past week are the following:—

From a Teacher.

My sister and I will send you at least £10 worth of goods for a stall. I thought perhaps if you mentioned this in the next number of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* it might be the means of making other teachers do likewise. I believe so much in the power of suggestion. My dressmaker, who cannot afford to give anything, has offered to make two little dresses if we supply materials. Perhaps others might do the same. We are asking all our friends, including Antis.

ALBERTA W. RUSSELL.

The Chelsea W.S.P.U. has sent a whip to members in the following terms:—

"VOTES FOR WOMEN!"

Chelsea Women's Social and Political Union. Sale of women's work, Prince's Skating Rink, May 13 to 26, 1909. To you who cannot take part in the directly political and militant side of the agitation we say: "Come forward and help us to make the sale a success." We invite you to attend a preliminary meeting of workers to discuss plans for the Art Stall which the Chelsea Union is undertaking, and to elect a committee, or to send promises of contributions in money or work, such as leather work, metal work, wood carving, pictures, pottery, Liberty draperies, jewellery, statuettes, needlework, embroidery, decorative work, photographs. In fact, any artistic article. Address to Miss Blacklock, Hon. Sec., 51, Beaufort Mansions, S.W.

Already Acknowledged:

Stalls promised 21½
Money and goods to furnish stalls to the amount of ... £295 10 0

Newcastle	One Stall.	Mrs. Marguerite Fisher ..	5 0 0
London City Union, including—		Miss M. Levers (Yorkshire) ..	2 0 0
The Misses Vibart	Half Stall.	The Hon. Mrs. Wilkinson ..	5 0 0
and Miss Goodliffe (£25)		Miss Beck ..	5 0 0
One-quarter Stall.		Mrs. L. Sidney ..	2 0 0
Miss R. Townshend	One-quarter Stall.	Miss Castle ..	0 5 0
Miss Woolan	One-quarter Stall.	Miss Milner ..	0 12 6
Hon. Mrs. Haverfield	One-quarter Stall.	Mrs. Roberts ..	10 0 0
Mrs. Edwards	One-quarter Stall.	Mrs. Allinson ..	0 12 0
Bowes Park W.S.P.U.	One-quarter Stall.	Miss Park ..	1 0 0
Collected from Staff of an Office		Miss Cogswell (N.W. London	
One-fifth Stall.		Stall) ..	0 10 0
Mrs. Blanche Smith (Battersea)		Mrs. Olivia Kohler (N.W.	
One-eighth Stall.		London Stall) ..	5 0 0
Marylebone Stall	One Stall.	Mrs. M. Ververs (Yorkshire) ..	2 0 0
Wimbledon W.S.P.U.	One-half Stall.	Miss Kempe ..	0 10 0
Mrs. Littlejohn, goods to the		Mrs. Bastian ..	2 2 0
value of	£2 4 0	Miss Houston ..	2 0 0
Miss Simpson ..	" "	Mrs. Madeline Petre (N.W.	
Miss K. Kenny ..	" "	London Stall) ..	5 0 0
Miss Stacey ..	" "	Mrs. Badley ..	10 0 0
Miss Jessie Smith (L.C.U.) ..	3 0 0	Misses Lance, Birt, and Rid-	
Miss Johnson ..	" "	ley ..	25 0 0
Miss E. Lloyd ..	" "	Miss E. M. Strong ..	2 0 0
Miss Hunt (L.C.U.) ..	" "	Miss H. Lightman and	
H. G. L. ..	" "	Friends ..	2 0 0
Miss H. Williams ..	" "	Mrs. Matt ..	0 15 0
Miss Hall ..	" "	Miss Sybil L. F. Marsden	
		has sent	0 10 0

The contribution from Miss Kelly was wrongly entered last week as 10s. Miss Kelly has generously promised £5 10s. worth of goods.

Points to be Observed.

(1) Send for leaflets and promise cards. A special leaflet has been prepared, giving details as to size and number of stalls, etc. We want this distributed far and wide, and readers are asked to write for copies for distribution: The Exhibition Secretary, 4, Clements Inn, London, W.C.

(2) Some parcels of work having been sent to Clements Inn, the Exhibition Secretary wishes it made known that, as the necessary room for storing articles for the Exhibition is not yet available, workers should kindly refrain from sending in goods until further notice; date and place will be stated in due course.

(3) Let the Exhibition Secretary know as soon as possible what you are prepared to do, so that she may know what she can safely reckon upon.

(4) Only twelve weeks between now and the date of the Exhibition. The time is short. Work—and work your best!

PROGRESS OF WOMEN.

Votes for Women in America.

The National Progressive Woman's Suffrage Union (known as the Suffragettes) held their first annual reception recently in New York. Among those present was Dr. Julia Sears, who fought in the courts for her right to vote in New York State, having voted in Colorado in three Presidential elections. The Rev. Anna Shaw and Miss Ethel Arnold (sister of Mrs. Humphry Ward) were among the guests of honour at a luncheon (said to be the largest ever given in New York) arranged by the Inter-urban Woman Suffrage Council. Miss Arnold, in a powerful address on the work of the Suffragettes in England, confessed her own antipathy to martyrdom, and praised Mrs. Pankhurst and the women who have endured it in filthy gaols. She added that they had brought the issue out from the shade of academic discussion into practical politics, and that the women had conquered. Miss Arnold also complimented America, and, alluding to Mrs. Humphry Ward's statement that Suffrage in that country was dead, proclaimed that it was the most lively corpse she had ever seen.

An Obvious Injustice.

Although the Midwives Act has been in force for some five years, it has not yet been decided by the Central Midwives Board who is to pay the doctor's fee in cases where, in accordance with the provisions of the Act, he is called in by the midwife. In a recent case at Bethnal Green the Coroner (Dr. Westcott) remarked that, though the Act said that it was the duty of a midwife in certain cases to call in a doctor, it said nothing about who was to pay him. He asked, Ought the midwives to pay the doctors? adding that this would be rather hard, as they were earning their living at a smaller rate than the doctors. Some midwives, we understand, do pay the doctor's fee out of their own pockets rather than let their patients suffer, but that they should be allowed to do so is obviously an injustice.

Aeronautics for Women.

The popularity of aeronautics in France is such that a Women's Aero Club, the "Stella," has been founded in Paris. Mme. Surcouf, the first French woman balloonist, and the wife of a balloonist, who is at the head of the club organisation, describes aeronautics as a pleasant and suitable sport for women. The club has the promise of the collaboration of the Aero Club de France, and its statutes arrange for discussing business matters with the council of the members of the Aero Club. The club headquarters will be at the Aerostatic Park.

Maid-servants' Courage.

The presence of mind, promptitude, and courage of two maid-servants in rescuing a youth from drowning during the recent intense cold deserves special commendation. About 8.15 in the morning the boy fell through the ice at the east side of a pond at Petersfield, about forty or fifty yards from the bank. Ellen Skermer, a parlourmaid, rushed at once for a rope, with which she and another woman named Jane Bowers (cook) ran to the pond. Benumbed by the cold, the boy was unable to drag himself on to the ice, and, on their arrival, called out that he could not hold on much longer. To reach him the two maid-servants had to go some way on the ice, which was cracking alarmingly, and Ellen Skermer,

being the lighter, went first. The women, unaided, succeeded in rescuing the youth.

Cambridge Union and the B.A.

Cambridge Union Society last week discussed the motion: "That this House would strongly approve of the immediate granting of the B.A. degree to women in this University." The motion was proposed by Mr. J. R. M. Butler, son of the Master of Trinity, and opposed by Mr. A. Ramsay, of Caius (secretary). After a long debate, the House divided: Ayes, 147; Noes, 55; the majority for the motion being 92.

A Woman and War.

Anna Wermuth, who was known for many years as the laundress to the Emperor of Austria, died lately in the Home for the Aged, in Vienna. In the revolution of 1848 she took part in the barricade fights and acted as nurse for the wounded revolutionists. From her home she directed the work of the organised washerwomen, and for years, on occasions when the various guilds paraded, she always led the women of her calling.

Woman Attorney.

Miss Rhea Whitehead, of Seattle, Washington, has been appointed deputy prosecuting attorney for King County. She graduated from the law school at the University of Washington in 1905, and was admitted to the Bar the same year. She was formerly a stenographer.

Miss Janet Case, although she was an unsuccessful candidate for a seat on the Hampstead Borough Council, polled 552 votes, i.e., 92 less than the successful candidate. Miss Case had a distinguished career at Gorton, and she is the only woman who has taken part in the Cambridge Greek Play.

Miss Fanny Isabel Taylor has been appointed an inspector of factories and workshops under the Home Office.

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A WOMAN RECRUITING FOR FIRST AID VOLUNTEERS (See page 353).

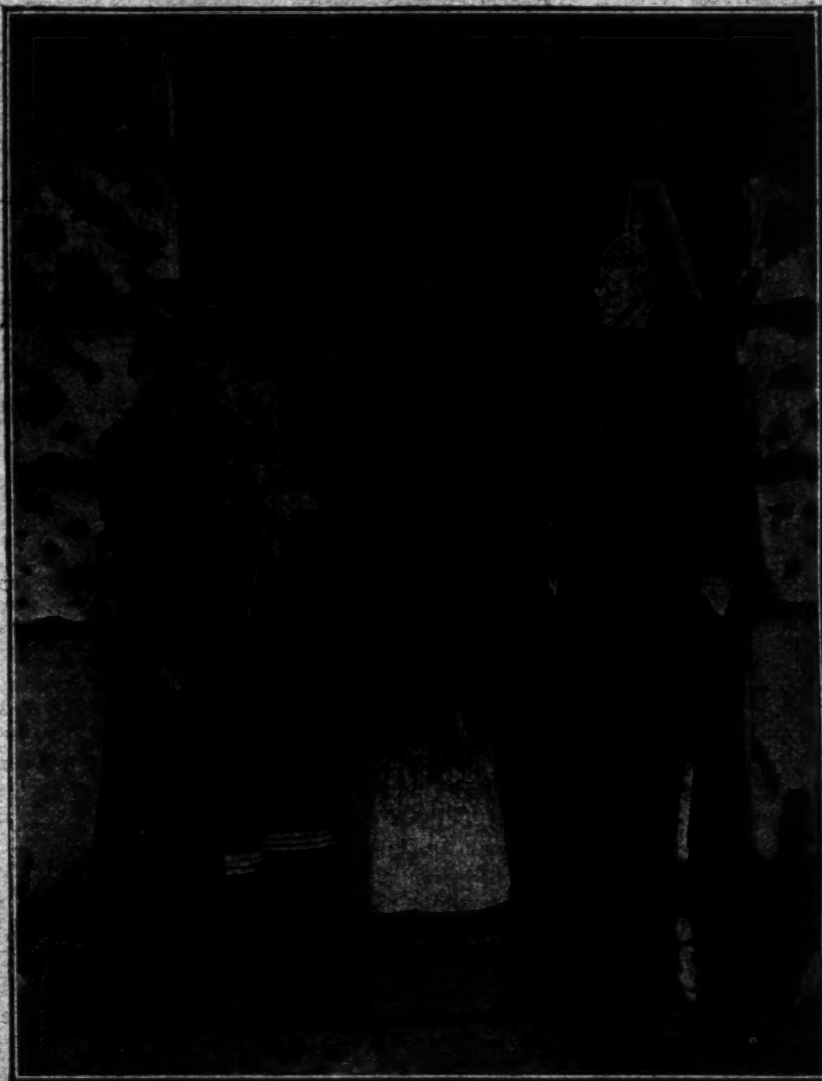
The Council of the Royal College of Surgeons has decided to refer to a committee for consideration a formula for a new by-law rendered necessary by the decision of the college to admit women to the examinations for its diplomas.

On the Fence.

We understand that the new Women's Municipal League, Boston, announces that it will be neither for nor against suffrage. Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, however, says that she thinks those of its officers who are not already suffragists will be likely to become so through the difficulties they will meet in trying to bring about reforms without the ballot. She instances the case of Mrs. William Grey, a well-known Englishwoman, who set out to secure better educational advantages for girls, and told Mrs. Howe afterwards, when she met her in Rome, that she had been converted from an "Anti" to a warm believer in equal suffrage by her experience in that work.

Mme. Flamonkova, a woman journalist, has just been allowed to sit in the "gallery" at the sittings of the Bohemian Landtag as a reporter.

Miss Burne has been chosen as President of the Folk-Lore Society for the present year. Miss Burne has for many years been editor of the Society's journal, *Folk-Lore*.



The National Women's Social & Political Union.

OFFICE:

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C.

Telegrams:—"WOSPOLU, LONDON." Telephone: Holborn 2724 (two lines).
Bankers: Messrs. BARCLAY & CO., Fleet Street.

Mrs. PANKHURST, <i>Founder and Hon. Sec.</i>	Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE, <i>Hon. Treasurer.</i>
Mrs. TUKE, <i>Joint Hon. Sec.</i>	Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST, <i>Organising Sec.</i>

The Women's Social and Political Union are asking for votes for women on the same terms as they are possessed by men.

They are not asking for the vote for every woman, but that a woman shall not be refused a vote simply because she is a woman.

The Women's Social and Political Union claim that a simple measure, giving the vote to women on these terms, shall be passed next Session.

THE KING'S SPEECH—AND AFTER.

HOW WE SHALL ANSWER MR. ASQUITH NEXT WEDNESDAY.

We know now the mind of the so-called Liberal Government. The women of the country are to be still defrauded as taxpayers, dishonoured as citizens, insulted as suppliants for justice, wronged as members of the great human family.

Woman is to be crushed down under the power of sex domination. She is to remain gagged. She is to be bound by political and legal and economic restrictions. The soul of woman is to be kept a prisoner. That is the determination of our political masters.

But we, the members of the Women's Social and Political Union, are not so minded. We have vowed that woman shall be free, that our bonds shall be broken, that woman shall be honoured by the human race to which she has given birth. To this end we have sworn to devote ourselves. And this vow we will keep, and this vow we will accomplish, let the cost be what it may. We know our mind, and we also know what is our duty, and what at the present moment is our moral obligation with regard to this matter.

Our plain duty is to resist to the utmost of our strength the tyranny in high places that vaunts itself against the law of justice. For resistance to dishonour is the only course open to those who honour their own soul. It matters not that those to whom we must offer resistance have material and physical force, incomparably greater than we possess, at their command. Physical force is not the greatest force in the world. Our opponents are weak, and behind all their fine show of arbitrary force they know that they are weak. They are weak because they are in the wrong. And the mightiest material forces in all history have found that it is impossible to subdue and conquer the human spirit when it is allied with the moral forces that dominate the spiritual world and is bent upon resistance.

How much the Government now in power fear our resistance is already shown by the vindictive measures that have been used to crush our militant agitation. They do not fear us because of the physical or material resources which this movement can command. They fear us for the same reason that we ourselves have no fear. We have no fear for the present, no doubt for the future issue of this struggle, because we have placed our reliance not upon strength or numbers, neither upon the physical force that we are able to command. We place our reliance on the fact that wrong never yet triumphed over right when right was wedded to a human will which could hold fast to its purpose and never yield. They know as well as we know that if we persist in our agitation their opposition must collapse. Unless they can break our spirit, induce fear and hesitation into our ranks, they will be forced to yield to our just demand.

This is what we have to do then. We have to put aside everything that is in the nature of hesitation, doubt, or fear.

We have to set ourselves with a steadfast purpose and a resolute will, a great faith, and a high courage to continue this warfare until justice and right have won the day.

The hour calls for action, deliberate and resolute action. What, then, are we going to do?

On Wednesday next, February 24, we call upon the members of this Union to come and hold council with us in the Caxton Hall, Westminster. Mrs. Pankhurst will preside. It will be, it must be under present conditions, a council of war. Come, then, with resolute heart and nerve; come prepared to give battle to the enemy. Let everyone who is in real earnest about this matter be with us on this occasion. We fully recognise that there are many of our members who cannot enter the fighting lines, not because of fear or reluctance, but because duty to others for whom they are responsible forbids it. Come, nevertheless, to our war council in the Caxton Hall. This is pre-eminently one of the occasions when we want to be surrounded by our friends. We do not exclude strangers, but we want to see the faces of those whom we have learnt to know and trust. We want to take their greeting, their love in our hearts as we go forward to meet with the fortune of the battlefield. Make sure of your places, then, without waiting another day, and come very early. Last time our meeting was nearly wrecked by the inrush of the excited crowd who secured the seats. Happily, they most courteously complied with my request and left the hall in the possession of the ticket-holders. But let this contingency be guarded against next Wednesday. Let the ticket-holders be in their places at 7 o'clock—half-an-hour before the meeting begins. Let there be no fuss, no excitement, no eager questioning as to what is going to happen; but let there be that atmosphere of quiet "recollection," as the old philosophers called it, when every mind staying itself on the great Spirit which sustains the universe becomes strong and gives out its strength silently to others. Make Caxton Hall, for the time being, as holy as a church where the banners of a spiritual warfare are to be blessed.

Punctually at 7.30 a resolution will be put to the meeting. This resolution will embody our demand for a Government Bill to be introduced this Session giving to women taxpayers the elementary right of representation, and thus removing the political disability which rests upon our sex.

A deputation will carry forthwith that resolution to the House of Commons.

What will happen? We do not know. Mr. Asquith may treat women who have important representations to make to the Government as he treated a deputation of men from Woolwich some little time ago. The working men of Woolwich wished to interview Mr. Asquith, and announced their intention of sending a deputation upon a certain evening. Mr. Asquith's secretary informed them that the Prime Minister was dining with the Colonial Premiers and could not see them. They replied that they would wait in Parliament Square until he gave them an interview. Mr. Asquith thereupon appointed the hour and received them.

Perhaps, on the other hand, as we are not men, but unenfranchised women, the Liberal Government will set the police—who are their servants—upon us. We shall be arrested and imprisoned. That is the very worst that the Government who want to keep women in subjection can do, and at the very moment that they arrest and imprison us we become free as we have never been free in all our lives before. The bonds that are more enslaving than even the bonds of political subjection are broken. I mean the bonds of fear. A stigma far more humiliating than the stigma of political disability has been removed from our shield—the stigma of physical, social, and moral cowardice. It is fear, and fear alone, that can enslave our soul. It is only fear that can really hurt and can really belittle us. Is not that the lesson that we learn every day in this great movement?

Let us, then, have done with fear, whether it is the fear of violence, the fear of what our friends will think, the fear of what the world will say, the fear of what our health may suffer, the fear of what may happen to our beloved ones whilst we are cut off from them. Fear is the greatest enemy of man or woman, the most exacting tyrant. Let us, then, cast out fear and delete the word "affraid" from our vocabulary. Let us conquer fear in our own heart, and we shall enter into this conflict as victors.

To arms! The call to battle has gone forth!

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The Government have refused to include a Votes for Women measure in their programme for the Session, and this means that our campaign of protest must continue, for by no other means can the opposition to women's enfranchisement be overcome. We are fighting not only against the Government, but against time. The most sanguine Liberal does not doubt that the General Election must come at latest at the end of next year, and it becomes increasingly probable that the present is the final Session of this Parliament. Difficulties are thickening in the path of the Government; dissension is rumoured to exist within the Cabinet. It is more than likely that they will, at the close of the year, lay down a burden grown too heavy for them.

There are signs also that the dispute with the House of Lords may soon come to a head, for, reluctant as the Government certainly are to take definite action in the matter, they cannot, without destroying their own reputation, postpone the conflict indefinitely. The *Morning Leader* has declared that "the main road is now blocked, and nothing but an appeal to the country can clear it." Therefore any new disagreement between the Upper and the Lower House will almost inevitably precipitate a General Election.

Obviously, therefore, the crisis in the Woman Suffrage movement has arrived, and this should bring every woman who wants the vote to the point of action. There must be no more talk of giving the Government another chance. There must be no more reliance upon the statements as to a Reform Bill lately made by the Prime Minister and Mr. Lloyd George. It is quite clear that, even if circumstances leave them free to choose the moment of the dissolution, the Government will feel in no way bound, by anything they have said, to postpone the General Election until the opportunity of women's enfranchisement, which they pretend the Reform Bill would confer, has been given. Liberal women and others are greatly mistaken if they suppose that the Government will be restrained by any obligation towards women from resigning the moment they think party purposes may be served by doing so.

But even if the Reform Bill were in fact destined to see the light of day, any belief that the Government intend it to become the means of women's enfranchisement would be destroyed by Mr. Lewis Harcourt's recent utterance on the subject. He refers to Mr. Gladstone's reported statement to the effect that if a private member moved an amendment in favour of Woman Suffrage, and it was passed by the House of Commons, the Government, as a Government, would give it hearty support in the Reform Bill; and points out that what his colleague actually said was that if such a contingency arose he personally would give the Bill so amended his hearty support. Mr. Harcourt proceeds to say:—"You will remember that some time ago the Prime Minister said that when the Reform Bill was under consideration the Government would be unable, as a Government, to oppose an amendment in favour of Female Suffrage, owing to the division of feeling amongst members of the Cabinet on this subject. It is therefore equally impossible, and for the same reasons, that the Government, as at present constituted, should, as a Government, support an amendment in favour of Female Suffrage."

Veiled Opposition.

This statement we can only take to mean that the Government will not assume responsibility for a Woman Suffrage clause at any time during the progress of the Reform Bill through Parliament. It is hard to distinguish such an attitude from opposition to our cause; in fact, the Government are deterred from open avowal of their hostility solely by fear of women's opposition to them. In view of the growing strength of our movement, members of the Government are trying to get rid of their evil reputation in the matter of Woman Suffrage without at the same time committing themselves to action.

They declare that they ought not to be regarded as enemies to Woman Suffrage, because they are not unanimously opposed to it, and that they cannot, on the other hand, carry the measure

because they are not unanimously in favour of it. This pleases in the mind of women only impatience and contempt. If the Government are our opponents, let them openly confess it, and we will fight the matter out with them in fair political conflict. If they are our friends, let them show it by carrying with all speed a Woman Suffrage Bill. But let them not try to prove that they are neither friends nor foes. That position is constitutionally impossible, as they well know; and although they have shown, where other questions are concerned, a rather faint conception of the doctrine of collective Cabinet responsibility, and although there is amongst them a want of discipline amounting almost to disloyalty, it is only in dealing with women, for whom they think any excuse is good enough, that they would attempt such absurd political contortions. Imbued with worn-out ideas and prejudices, they are slow to learn that women in these days have a knowledge of political affairs and possibilities equal to their own.

The Test of Action.

In determining our attitude towards the Government we apply one test only, and that is the test of action. That being so, the Government gain nothing, while they certainly destroy their own reputation for straight dealing, by the declarations with which they try to veil their real opposition to Woman Suffrage. Women are just as resentful of a policy of prevarication and delay as they would be of outspoken denial of their claim.

How are women to show their great desire for citizen rights, and how are they to compel the Government to yield those rights? They can do it only by some form of militant action. At the present Scottish bye-elections, the Women's Social and Political Union are doing their best to secure the defeat of Government candidates. Our power to prevent a Government victory in English constituencies is recognised; if we can shake the Government in Scotland, too, we shall take a big step indeed towards enfranchisement.

But the bye-election policy depends for its success on the help of others, on the support of the electors; and if our plan of campaign were limited to this alone it could not achieve success. Some form of action enabling women to make a direct attack upon the Government is essential, and unless we could and did take such action the bye-election policy itself would break down, because what prompts men to make Woman Suffrage the issue upon which they vote, is the fact that women themselves are giving proof of their earnestness by opposing the Government and taking the consequences. If our campaign of protest were to cease, our influence with the electors and our already considerable power to embarrass the Government would instantly come to an end.

Determination to take militant measures increases as we see our movement strengthening, as we find public sympathy increasing, as we feel our growing power to shake the Government. The counsel which some give that we should hold our hand, now that the cause has had advertisement seems to us merely childish. Nor do we heed the words of those others who remonstrate with us on the ground that women's appeal must be to moral and spiritual force, and not to violence. For women, as for men, there are occasions when violence must be met with violence, when invasion of one's right to liberty and security must be resisted by physical means; but to that point militant Suffragists have not come, and they have hope and confidence that they may never reach it. The militant agitation of to-day is not an appeal to violence. To term it so shows utter confusion of ideas. What the militant Suffragist actually does is to compel the Government of the country to a choice between the granting of justice to women, on the one hand, and the forcible suppression of their protest by the use of physical force, on the other. The militant Suffragist does not do violence to the Government; she simply gives proof of her earnestness and her readiness to bear the sternest physical punishment the State will use against her. Her action makes the world know that the spiritual force within her is stronger than all the physical force at the command of the Government. Because we of the Women's Social and Political Union believe that spiritual force is the strongest of all things, we base our hopes of success on the present methods. One thing is certain; mere verbal appeal to justice will never move the Government and the nation to admit women to the sphere of citizenship. Unless our yearning for enfranchisement is expressed in action, we shall not achieve—perhaps we do not even deserve—success.

Christabel Pankhurst.

GREAT MEETINGS DURING THE WEEK.

Friday in last week was notable for two great and enthusiastic meetings, the one at Colston Hall, Bristol, the other in the Sun Hall, Liverpool, addressed respectively by Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Christabel Pankhurst. Both halls were packed from floor to ceiling with enthusiastic audiences, who cheered the leaders again and again.

At Bristol the chair was taken by Miss Annie Kenney, who explained the purpose of the meeting—viz., to tell the people in the West of England what the W.S.P.U. is fighting for. She then introduced Mrs. Pankhurst, who was accorded a tremendous reception, cheers breaking forth again and again from the vast audience.

Mrs. Pankhurst said that she should have visited Bristol some time ago, but it so happened that she fell into the hands of the officers of His Majesty's Government, and her visit was delayed. (Laughter and applause.) One felt that in Bristol there should be a ready response to an appeal of the kind that women were making. There should be ready sympathy with a very desperate and hard struggle, which women in this country were now making against a Government, called the strongest Government of modern times. It was one of those strange fights that made one think sometimes that one was not really awake, because did it not seem extraordinary that 400 women had gone to prison under a Government whose greatest principle these women were asking that Government to put into practice? They had their fight on the highest political plane of which they knew, and if anyone had descended to meanness and trickery, to pour opprobrium upon their enemies through the newspapers, it had not been the women. Mrs. Pankhurst roused great applause by her description of the Anti-Suffrage movement as a kind of kindergarten from which people came to hear the other side and were then converted. With regard to the militant tactics, if they could not send representatives to talk to the Government, they had to talk to Cabinet Ministers wherever they could get into the meetings, which now consisted of people "warranted not to interrupt." (Laughter.) Speaking on the bye-election campaign, Mrs. Pankhurst said if they could keep the Liberals out in Scotland—not because they were Liberals, but because the leaders of the Government were not true to Liberal principles—they would be exercising a pressure the Government would understand. (Applause.)

Including the sale of tickets and collection the sum of £200 was cleared for carrying on the campaign, and four women came forward for active, and, if necessary, dangerous, service, while two volunteered to go to Scotland to help in the bye-elections.

At the Sun Hall, Liverpool.

Simultaneously, at Liverpool, an equally crowded and enthusiastic audience had gathered in the Sun Hall to hear Christabel Pankhurst. Miss Mary Gawthorpe presided at the meeting, and, in introducing Miss Christabel Pankhurst, said: "We have come to tell you something about a war—a war against a Government which resolutely refuses to do justice to women."

Miss Christabel Pankhurst had such a reception from the audience as might, says the *Liverpool Courier*, have gladdened the heart of a Cabinet Minister. In a speech lasting nearly an hour and a-half, she dealt with the political situation. "We concentrate," she remarked, "upon the clear and simple issue of the sex disability in political affairs, and say, 'Admit us to the franchise on the same terms as yourselves, gentlemen'—an act of justice which would give to one and a-half million women, property owners, ratepayers, lodgers, and University graduates the right which they are denied." The victory of argument rested with the women, even on the admission of Mr. Herbert Gladstone, although there were still "a few old fogeys" against the women, and "a few ladies who wrote books and meddled in politics, but did not think that other women should do so." The audience evidently richly enjoyed the criticism levelled at Lord Cromer. "Fancy!" Miss Pankhurst exclaimed, "a gentleman who has spent the best years of his life in the East coming home when his life's labours are over and trying to persuade British women that Eastern ideals are good enough for them." A hearty round of applause greeted the assertion that Lord Cromer, "emulating the unsuccessful Mrs. Partington," was "trying to sweep back the tide," and that the anti-suffragists were "survivals of the dark ages, and belonged not to the progressive twentieth century."

Miss Pankhurst contrasted the comparatively peaceful methods of the militant Suffragettes with the revolutions in which men had been engaged when insisting upon their rights, and the physical injury which women in Russia and elsewhere visited upon those who oppressed them. "Surely," she declared, "it is not necessary in the twentieth century, and in Great Britain, for women to commit crime in order to get their rights as citizens." (Loud applause.)

After numerous questions had been asked and answered, and the

audience had sung "The Women's Marseillaise," a resolution was adopted, with few dissentients, calling upon the Government to pledge itself, in the forthcoming King's Speech, to introduce a Bill which shall enfranchise duly qualified women this session.

Torquay and Plymouth.

On the previous Monday Mrs. Pankhurst had addressed a crowded and enthusiastic meeting in the large Bath Saloon, Torquay. The hall was decorated with the colours of the W.S.P.U., and on the arrival of Mrs. Pankhurst—accompanied by Miss Howey, who presided—she was presented with a basket and bouquet of purple and white flowers with smilax and asparagus sprays. The large audience was representative of all classes, and there was a very fair sprinkling of men.

In opening the proceedings, Miss Howey said they were very proud to have Mrs. Pankhurst with them, because they all knew how much other towns were desiring a visit from her, while four possible bye-elections also awaited her in Scotland.

After dealing exhaustively with the reasons why women demand political enfranchisement, Mrs. Pankhurst said the W.S.P.U. had succeeded in bringing the question to the forefront of politics. They had broken down the Press boycott and made it impossible for any Cabinet Minister to address a public meeting. These gentlemen had to be surrounded, by armies of police almost like the Czar of Russia. Reminding the audience that they lived very near mid-Devon, she said it was entirely due to the women that a Liberal member was not sitting for that constituency at the present time. What part, she asked, were those present going to take in the struggle for the freedom of their sex? This was a world-wide movement; it meant the uplifting of the whole sex and the removal of that social stain upon women which they felt so deeply; it meant a better future for themselves and their children, and better things for the men.

On the following Wednesday Mrs. Pankhurst addressed a large meeting in the Plymouth Guildhall. Miss Howey again presided, and Mrs. Pankhurst, on rising, was received with cheers. They were told, she said, that they should be patient. She had been patient. (Laughter.) When she was twenty-one she joined the executive of a women's suffrage movement. She had carried patience almost to such a pitch that it ceased to be a virtue and became a crime. It was her own daughters who said to her, "Mother, is it not about time we had a vote?" (Applause.) The only people who had suffered from any violence in this agitation had been themselves. They had taken all the knocks, all the bruises, all the suffering, and they were willing to do it. That was woman's way. They were going to win this vote if they could without having to record injury inflicted upon anybody but themselves. If the Liberal Government would only put their principles into practice they would find them their most ardent supporters.

The Scala Theatre, London.

There was a large crowd of men and women at the Scala Theatre on Monday afternoon, where the usual Monday At Home was held by the Women's Social and Political Union, as the Queen's Hall was engaged for that afternoon. Miss Christabel Pankhurst, who presided, said that in view of the statement in Mr. Lewis Harcourt's letter published that day, they were quite justified in everything they had done up to now in opposition to the Government. The Government was unpopular because of its desertion of principles, and that weakness was never better exemplified than in the Government's attitude towards Woman Suffrage. The Government Reform Bill meant nothing to women, and there was nothing for it but a militant attitude. The day of judgment for the Government was at hand, and the supporters of the Suffrage for women must base their calculations upon the supposition that this session was to be the last of the present Parliament.

Mr. Touche gave a most interesting address, in the course of which he showed himself in hearty sympathy with the methods which have been adopted by the Union in order to win the vote. Of course, he regretted, as he believed the women themselves did, that they had been forced to be militant in this way. He thought that men ought to have supported them much more than had been the case, but he was confident that the methods of the Women's Social and Political Union were the ones which were going to win the vote for women. (Cheers.) There was an idea against which he wished to protest; it was that women were a kind of undeveloped men. In his view, women were on an absolute equality with men. In many matters men had a great deal to learn from them, and he believed that they were already in the position to take their place side by side with men in the political world. He could tell the audience that Miss Christabel Pankhurst was far more feared by the Liberal Government than many of those forces of which they were supposed to stand in dread at the present day.

THE BYE-ELECTIONS.

FORFARSHIRE.

Unionist Mr. R. L. Blackburn.
Liberal Mr. James Falconer.

The figures at the General Election were as follows:—Sir John Sinclair (L.), 6,796; Mr. J. M. Bernard (L.U.), 3,277. Liberal majority, 3,519.

Headquarters—Temperance Hotel, Forfar.

The campaign in Forfarshire is now in full swing. The W.S.P.U. staff has been reinforced by the arrival of Miss Billing and the Misses Aitken, and canvassing has been started in Broughty Ferry, as well as in several of the smaller places, with excellent results. The women are especially sympathetic, the majority of them showing an ability to understand and discuss the political situation which is sadly lacking in many a voter.

Meetings have been held in Kirriemuir (the village immortalised by Mr. J. M. Barrie under the name of Thrums), in Friockheim, Colliston, Broughty Ferry, Cortachy, and Downfield. Everywhere the people seem to grasp our policy without difficulty, and to expound it to their unconverted friends. It is easier to get them to see the futility of expecting to get reforms from a Government such as the present one by faithfully and blindly supporting it than it was even a few months ago, since the Government have given so many additional and conclusive proofs of their infidelity to Liberal principles and their failure to accomplish Liberal measures to which they are pledged.

Heckling has been most active at Broughty Ferry, as might be expected in a Liberal stronghold. Miss Christabel Pankhurst paid an unexpected flying visit to the constituency on Wednesday, and addressed a crowded and very appreciative audience in a hall at Broughty Ferry. Mrs. Drummond added a special appeal as a Scottish woman to her fellow countrymen which greatly delighted them, her bits of Doric being greeted with much laughter and applause. Miss Adela Pankhurst held an open-air meeting also in Broughty Ferry on Saturday night, and was kept answering questions by the crowd for about half an hour in spite of a temperature considerably below freezing point. Literature sold well there, as everywhere in the constituency, and collections certainly do not bear out the reputation the Scot enjoys in the South for meanness.

The Scotsman prides himself on his firm adherence to his principles, and his refusal to be "swayed" so easily as the Englishman. We are appealing to this characteristic, pointing out that the man who stands firmly by the traditions of Liberalism is just the man who is on our side to-day, and who will refuse to be swayed away from his principles into support of a Government which fails to practise them—who will vote against the Government which is Liberal only in name, and keep the (so-called) Liberal out!

GLASGOW (Central).

Unionist Mr. C. Scott Dickson, K.C.
Liberal Mr. T. Gibson Bowles.

The figures at the last election were:—Sir Andrew M. Torrance (L.), 6,720; Lt.-Col. J. G. A. Baird (U.), 6,289. Majority, 431.

Committee Rooms—141, Bath Street, Glasgow, and 582, Argyle Street, Anderston Cross.

The Glasgow (Central) constituency is a very interesting one to work. The eastern part is largely commercial, while the west comprises a thickly populated district, including several large works. Miss Cameron, when exploring this part of the constituency, was greeted with several requests for dinner-hour meetings, which have now been arranged. Open-air meetings are being held every day in the neighbourhood of Great Clyde Street, George Square, Renfield Street, Anderston Cross, Old Kelvinhaugh Road (Temple Bar), and Charing Cross, usually at 7.30. Keen interest is being displayed, and our speakers are already hearing the encouraging remark familiar to us now from many bye-elections: "I am going to vote against the Government, not on account of my politics, but because I am a Suffragist."

Women who canvassed for the Liberal candidate at the General Election are now working in our ranks. The Committee Rooms at Anderston Cross are becoming a centre of attraction; and many friendly overtures and offers of help have been received from men and women Suffragists in the neighbourhood.

A large audience gathered to hear Miss Christabel Pankhurst at the Athenæum last Thursday. The few turbulent spirits put in an appearance, but before many minutes were over interest in the speech presumably overcame the desire for a musical entertainment, and they listened as keenly as the rest. The Glasgow elector is evidently ready to listen to the women's point of view. That is just what we ask. Given a fair and extensive hearing, we can safely leave the results to take care of themselves. Among Mrs. Pankhurst's engagements this week are a meeting on Wednesday, February 17, at the Cranston Hill Hall, at 8 p.m., and a meeting at the Athenæum on Thursday, February 18, at 5 p.m. Miss Christabel Pankhurst also spoke to the women students at the University, with the result that several of them have come

forward to help in the bye-election work. The women's meetings have also been crowded, and these have produced several new workers.

The literature sales are very large, Mrs. Craig being, as usual, particularly successful in this work. Before polling day we shall see our colours and VOTES FOR WOMEN all over the constituency.

Notices of meetings and all other information can be obtained from the Committee, where we shall also welcome all offers of help. Contributions towards the bye-election fund, which are urgently needed, should be sent to me at 141, Bath Street. This week we have to thank Mrs. Henderson for £3. We especially ask those members who are prevented from taking any active part to help in making this need known.

We have now a splendid body of speakers and workers in the field. In addition to Mrs. Pankhurst, there are Mrs. Drummond, Miss Adela Pankhurst, Miss Crocker, Miss Cameron, Mrs. Leigh, Miss Ayrton, Miss Gye, Miss Ball, and a large number of our members, who are rendering most invaluable assistance.

SOUTH EDINBURGH.

Conservative Mr. Harold B. Cox.
Liberal Mr. Arthur Dewar.

The figures at the last election were:—Arthur Dewar, K.C. (L.), 8,945; William C. Smith, K.C. (C.), 5,985. Majority, 2,960.

Although the election here is not yet officially announced, the W.S.P.U. has already opened a vigorous campaign, and we are holding many meetings in all parts of the constituency. The interest of the people is being thoroughly roused, and we have no hesitation in prophesying a lively time for the Liberal candidate. The Liberal majority at the last election was a large one, but we are determined that, if it is not reduced to below zero this time it shall at any rate show a very marked decrease.

HAWICK BURGHS.

Unionist Mr. Hulford John Mackinder.
Liberal Sir John Barran.

The figures at the last election were:—Rt. Hon. T. Shaw, K.C. (L.), 3,125; Sir A. Conan Doyle (C.), 2,444. Majority, 681.

The Hawick Burghs bye-election campaign has hardly opened yet, but a large contingent of W.S.P.U. workers are in the constituency, and with so small a majority at the last election (481) the prospect of a signal victory against the Government when the electors go to the poll is a very hopeful one. The workers are:—Miss New, Miss Crocker, Miss Gye, Mrs. Baines, Miss Ada Wright, and Miss Isabel Seymour.

TAUNTON.

Conservative The Hon. William Peel.
Labour Mr. F. Smith.

The figures at the last election were:—Sir Edward Boyle, K.C. (C.), 1,842; Arthur Ponsonby (L.), 1,503. Majority, 339.

A vacancy has occurred in the Taunton Parliamentary Division in consequence of the resignation of Sir Edward Boyle. At present there is no Liberal candidate in the field; but should the Liberals reverse their decision not to contest the seat the W.S.P.U. will immediately open a campaign.

AT THE ADMIRALTY.

Three members of the W.S.P.U. attended the reception given at the Admiralty by the First Lord and Mrs. McKenna on Monday night. During a lull in the music, and seeing Mr. McKenna near her, one of the women mounted a chair and began to speak. "Mr. McKenna," she said, "I am a Liberal woman on strike. Will you tell me as a responsible Cabinet Minister if 'Votes for Women' will be included in the King's Speech?" Mr. McKenna, looking extremely surprised, turned to her and exclaimed, "Madam!" He then walked quickly away with the apparent intention of fetching somebody to remove her. While he was away she went on:—"I see," she said, addressing the assembled guests, "Mr. McKenna has run away, as Cabinet Ministers usually do when voteless women ask them a question. I think it would have been more gracious on his part to give a straight answer to a straight question. For forty years women have worked for the vote in a constitutional way, and we are forced to adopt these methods."

The occurrence gave rise to much discussion among the guests; on all hands was heard, "Who is she? Why do they do it?" and the reply, "They want Votes for Women included in the King's Speech." After the first lady had left a second rose and addressed those near her, asking Mr. Haldane—who himself naively helped her on to a chair—three times whether Votes for Women would be included in the King's Speech, and handing him the W.S.P.U. leaflet, "The Urgency of Woman's Suffrage." Leaving a written message for the Prime Minister asking him to do his duty towards British women at once, the ladies were removed.

MR. GLADSTONE AND POLITICAL PRISONERS.

Correspondence between the Home Secretary and a Liberal Woman.

Miss Latimer has forwarded us for publication the following correspondence which has passed between herself and the Home Secretary:—

To the RIGHT HON. the HOME SECRETARY.

February 8, 1909.

DEAR SIR,—I come of a good Liberal stock, being the daughter of the late Isaac Latimer, of Plymouth, former proprietor of the leading Liberal newspaper in the West of England, the *Western Daily Mercury*. I am a vice-president of the Torquay Men's Liberal Association, and have been for years a worker in the Liberal cause.

For that reason, and because I wish the success and not the downfall of our party, I presume to address you on the treatment that is being meted out to the militant women who are seeking the enfranchisement of our sex in the refusal to admit that they are political offenders, and the subjecting them to imprisonment as second-class misdemeanants.

I say nothing about the refinement of cruelty, intellectual and physical, to exceptionally ardent and clever women, nor of the savouring of vindictiveness these judgments evince, but I would point out that this harsh treatment alienates the feelings of the better-minded of the women of the Liberal party, who see ill-Liberalism in the acts of the Government, and this ill-Liberalism makes them throw what aid they can into the Votes for Women agitation, leaving the Liberal party to ride to its fall, as it assuredly is doing by its present attitude.

Surely it is time that the party found some more rational method of dealing with the women's claim than by sending the women who make it to prison, and to a worse class of incarceration than that awarded to men agitators and those who maim cattle and break the peace.

It is deeply to be regretted that, blinded to the justice of women's demands, your party legislators also underrate the opportunity afforded them of being first in the field, with these women; that they lose sight of the expediency of availing themselves of the organising and combative ability, of the tenacity and the courage that could be enlisted for, instead of against the present Government, enthusiasm that would help to carry in the country such measures as the strangled Licensing Bill, and in the crossing of swords with the House of Lords, the latter far more inimical to Liberal reforms than any inclusion of women as voters could be.

On your part, at any rate, we would urge complete fairness, so that ground may not be given to the belief that you favour women being placed in the second rather than, as are men, in the first-class division. Women are quite aware that your office gives opportunity in these matters, and do not credit assertion to the contrary. Policy if not humanity should suggest a course above suspicion.

I have, Sir, the honour to remain, your sincere well-wisher,

S. FRANCES LATIMER.

Mr. Gladstone's Reply.

To this letter the following reply was sent by Mr. Gladstone:—

9, Buckingham Gate, S.W.,

10th February, 1909.

Dear Madam,—I quite recognise the *bond fides* of your letter. I must, however, point out that it shows a confusion between the Judicial Courts and the Executive Government. Under the Constitution the Executive Government have no power to interfere with the properly exercised discretion of the courts of law. To use the prerogative of mercy to upset the decisions of judges and magistrates in a number of different cases would be in the highest degree unconstitutional.

You appear to think that the Suffragettes should be treated as political prisoners. When they first began their illegal methods the courts, in default of their giving a surety, committed them to first division. Under the privileges allowed to first division prisoners they made Holloway the headquarters of the agitation, and issued manifestoes and incitements to further illegalities from the prison itself. Their conduct seriously endangered the whole discipline of the prison. Subsequently the courts, finding that leniency had only been taken advantage of, committed these ladies to the second division, which was constituted for the purpose of dissociating prisoners of good character and antecedents from ordinary criminals.

Allow me to point out that the law of England does not recognize as political prisoners persons who in carrying on a political propaganda break the law continually and wilfully for the purpose of that propaganda. The public and individuals are entitled to pro-

tection from illegalities. It is impossible to distinguish one form of political agitation from another simply because certain people declare that their views are of more importance than the views of anybody else. Were it otherwise, people who think strongly on Licensing, Unemployment, Tariff Reform, Education, and other questions would be induced to have recourse to disorderly and illegal methods for the purpose of drawing attention to their views and claims. If any political zealots chose to break the law in the honest pursuit of political changes they must necessarily take the consequences under the ordinary process of law.

I remain, yours faithfully,

(Signed) H. GLADSTONE.

Miss Latimer replied as follows:—

To the Rt. Hon. Herbert Gladstone, M.P., Home Secretary.

DEAR SIR,—I am obliged for the courtesy of your reply to my letter re the treatment of the Suffragettes.

I will send a copy to their headquarters for their consideration. The openly expressed opinion is that judges and magistrates are influenced to these harsh decisions by the known inclination, if not at the instigation, of the Government.

It was less a direct intervention to upset the decision of judges and magistrates I suggested than strict impartiality, and a hint to those presiding authorities that the Government (and your office) do not seek the exercise of the utmost penalty of the law, and that less rigour would be advisable.

I recall that under Mr. Arthur Balfour's coercive régime he had to yield *volens volens* about the prison dress, when William O'Brien, M.P., fought against the indignity, and that books and writing materials were allowed, cell and platter-cleaning omitted, and other remissions accorded to those who were, like these women, accused of "breaking the law continually and wilfully for the purpose of political propaganda." The Irish agitators made it possible once and for all, to distinguish and differentiate in the treatment of participators and inciters to illegalities in political struggle.

The women's militant methods are adopted for want of the better and more convenient weapon which these men could wield, i.e., the Parliamentary Vote.

In the honest pursuit of their political claim, zealous Suffragettes do not shirk taking the consequences of the law infringement. Imprisonment in the second division in no wise acts as a deterrent, as 324 committals testify, but it arouses sympathy on their behalf and against those who are regarded as their oppressors.

Women are going to win in this battle because they are prepared to pay any price to win, and because, the world over, women are arousing to shake off former shackles, subjections, and inequalities.

Would that our Liberal Party could grasp the honour of being the ones to accord the victory graciously, instead of having it wrested from them!

In the multiplicity of more congenial newspapers, VOTES FOR WOMEN naturally would not prepossess you to look at its contents, but may I introduce to your notice two articles in the current number—the 11th inst.—marked in the copy I herewith forward to you, page 326-7, the address and its peroration, by the well-known actor, Forbes Robertson, and page 333, "An Open Letter to Private Members," by Christabel Pankhurst.

Thanking you again for the tone and for the fact of your reply,—I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

S. FRANCES LATIMER.

It will be seen that Mr. Gladstone is, in the first place, incorrect in his facts. The Courts did not, in the first instance, commit the women to the first division. In October, 1906, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, and others were sent to the second division; but Mr. Gladstone, acting under pressure, induced the magistrate to remove them into the first class, and, speaking at Leicester shortly afterwards, claimed this action as a merit, saying, "I am the man who got them removed to the first division."

Further than this, it is well recognised in Liberal quarters, as well as by Suffragettes, that magistrates are carrying out the wish of the Government in acting in the way they do. Thus in the leading article of the *Manchester Guardian* on October 28 the writer said:—

To punish a political offence as though it were a vulgar crime is equally unjust, whether the victim be a man or a woman. Mr. Gladstone's plea that he has no power to transfer prisoners from the second to the first class is difficult to accept, and if it were sound it would lead us to conclusions exceedingly inconvenient to the Government and to the public.

Under these circumstances the subterfuge by which Mr. Glad-

Finally, it is well to remind Mr. Gladstone that he refused to allow Miss Christabel Pankhurst to write in prison a book on the History of the Agitation, which it was expressly said would not be published until after her release. Mr. Gladstone's conduct in all these matters is in direct opposition to the treatment of men like Mr. Parnell in the eighties and Mr. Ginnell at the present time.

E. P. L.

Total .. £28,161 3 4

Mr. Lewis Harcourt was one of the exhibitors at the Cruft Dog Show at Islington. There were also many lady exhibitors. The *Daily Graphic* remarks that "the ladies who take an interest in dogs are believed to rank considerably higher in Mr. Harcourt's estimation than those other ladies who display an all-consuming interest in votes."

THE CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

LONDON AND HOME COUNTIES.

Office: 4, Clements Inn, W.O.

It is very satisfactory to notice each week the steadily increasing interest which is taken throughout the Metropolis in the subject of Votes for Women. The At Home on Monday afternoon, held for once in the Scala Theatre, instead of the Queen's Hall, was well attended. A special report is given on page 358 of this issue.

Our work for the coming week is directed towards making known the Women's Parliament, on Wednesday, February 24, at 7.30, in the Caxton Hall. We shall be glad of all available helpers to advertise this meeting. Women are specially asked to come to the offices on Saturday morning at 11 o'clock for this purpose. And a special riding corps is being organised for Tuesday next. Will those who can take part in this please communicate with me at once.

Owing to the absence of most of our organisers at the bye-elections in Scotland, the official work here falls more heavily upon a few. Many kind friends have, however, come forward with help, and we are able to report good progress with our campaign, which is to lead up to the Women's Parliament on the 24th. A number of meetings have been held in various parts of London, in addition to those mentioned below, and a list of those arranged for up to the end of the month will be found in the Programme of Events, page 347.

At the Thursday At Home the chair was taken by Mr. Pethick Lawrence, and Miss Evelyn Sharp also spoke, giving some interesting details of her visit to Denmark. Among the audience were a good many men, and to those present for the first time Mr. Pethick Lawrence explained the A.B.C. of the W.S.P.U.

Wimbledon.—A great deal of outdoor work has been done here to prepare the way for the meeting which takes place on Monday, February 22, at 8 p.m., at the Baths' Hall, Latimer Road, when Miss Christabel Pankhurst will speak, and Miss Evelyn Sharp will take the chair. A large number of workers are, however, still required for canvassing, bill distributing, etc., and as the time is short, and Wimbledon is a very scattered district, we shall be glad if volunteers will communicate with Miss Clarkson, Committee Rooms, 6, Victoria Crescent, without delay. Meetings are held every afternoon for women at the Committee Rooms, at 3.30; every evening at 7.30, on the Broadway; and at the corner of the Free Library, at 8.15.

Westminster.—Mrs. Bartlett is in charge of the campaign here, now in full swing. Open-air meetings, at which we are bringing out new speakers, are being held in the dinner-hour, as well as each evening. On Sunday very good meetings were held on Clapham Common and Hampstead Heath. Next Sunday we intend holding mass meetings in Regent's Park, Battersea Park, on Clapham Common, Peckham Rye, and Hampstead Heath. Names of speakers will be found in the programme (p. 347). Workers and speakers are urgently needed for this district. On Saturday we are having a field day, and intend sending out parties of chalkers, bill distributors, etc. Will those willing to help on that day call at the offices, 4, Clements Inn, as early as possible any day after 10.30?

Battersea and Chelsea.—The women here are arranging meetings in the vicinity of their own districts with the object of working up local interest in the Women's Parliament. Women living in the neighbourhood with time to spare are asked to communicate with us at 4, Clements Inn.

Marylebone.—Drawing-room and open-air meetings are being held in this district, and local workers will be welcome. They should communicate at once with me at 4, Clements Inn.

Oxford.—A meeting of special interest, arranged by Mr. Arnold Freeman, took place last Thursday in the Manchester College Hall, when Miss I. Seymour, who had an excellent reception, explained the meaning of the militant tactics. Much interest and enthusiasm was shown by many of the undergraduates present. Oxford is as yet untried ground, this meeting being the first held under the auspices of the N.W.S.P.U., and there is a good opening here for further work.

Our Newspaper.—Mrs. Wilkinson is in charge of VOTES FOR WOMEN, and there is still room for more volunteers for outdoor sales.

Jessie Kenney.

WEST OF ENGLAND.

Shop and Committee Rooms.—33, Queen's Road (opposite Art Gallery), Clifton. Open from 10 a.m. to 7 p.m.

At Homes.—Bristol: Victoria Rooms, every Monday, 3.30 to 5.30. Stokes Croft: Assembly Rooms, meeting every Friday, 8 p.m.

An account of our big Colston Hall meeting and of the Torquay and Plymouth meetings will be found on another page. The members feel it was worth all the time, energy, and trouble to bring

about such splendid results. Everybody seems to have realised that the success of a big meeting lies in each one doing her utmost to advertise and make it known, and for the last two weeks they have worked hard. Nothing has come amiss to them, they have marched through the streets in procession, chalked pavements, they have driven round in a decorated trap, and given away 30,000 handbills, and they took over all the responsibility of organising the stewards, sale of tickets, decorating the platform, etc. I am proud to be the organiser of such splendid women! On the platform, in the midst of palms and flowers, we had a most beautiful banner made by Miss Walters, with the words: "Bristol Women Welcome Mrs. Pankhurst and the Promise of Freedom."

On Saturday we held an At Home for members only, when Mrs. Pankhurst addressed us. Each member took an exhibition card away to fill in and send to the Exhibition Secretary, Mrs. Dove Wilcox, 1, Richmond Terrace, Clifton, before Monday week. We also discussed Self-Denial Week. Mrs. Falk, 56, Pembroke Road, Clifton, promised to act as organiser for the sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN every Thursday afternoon, and we also got promises of four members for active service if Women's Suffrage is not included in the King's Speech. Two members also undertook to go with Mrs. Pankhurst to Scotland to help in the bye-elections. In the evening one of our Clifton members, Mrs. Curtis, gave a reception in honour of Mrs. Pankhurst, at the Ladies' Club, Clifton. On Sunday Mrs. Pankhurst spoke at the David Thomas Memorial Church, making a wonderful impression on the crowded congregation. This is in Mr. Birrell's constituency. It is encouraging to know that Mrs. Pankhurst left Bristol feeling we were on the right track for success in the West of England.

I hope next week to detail our scheme for breaking new ground in the West. I have great pleasure in forwarding to the Treasurer: Collected by members—Miss Churchill, £1 5s.; Miss A. Walters, 5s.; Mrs. Nash, 3s.; Miss I. Powell, 11s. 6d.; Mrs. Pritchard, 12s.; Miss E. Cowell, 15s.; Miss Clarence, £1; Miss Stewart, 5s. 6d.; Miss Mayhew, 6s.; Mrs. Hicking, 7s.; Mrs. Stephens, 5s. 6d. From two friends (towards trap), 10s. Promise cards (Colston Hall) already sent in:—An old friend, anon., £5; An old friend, anon., £5; A. E., £1; Anon., £2 2s.; Miss L. Smith, 10s.; Miss Jessie Smith, 10s.; Mrs. A. E. Mulbery, 10s.; Anon., 5s.; Miss Bagnall, 3s.; Mrs. Varles and Miss Veal, 2s. Meetings, Torquay (collection and tickets), £29; Plymouth, £18. For the Colston Hall meetings: Collection and tickets, £102 6s. 1d. From Bath (A friend), £5. From Four Veterans, given in Colston Hall in honour of Mrs. Pankhurst, and to help to win equal justice between men and women, £50. Grand total, £235 17s. 1d. Promise cards to come in, £3 13s. We have made over £200 clear on the Colston Hall meeting, after paying all expenses. Bravo, Bristol members!

Annie Kenney.

LANCASHIRE.

Headquarters.—Manchester, 164, Oxford Road.

Local Offices.—Preston, 41, Glover's Court, Rochdale, 84, Yorkshire Street.

At Homes.—Manchester: Onward Buildings, Deansgate, Fridays, 8–10. Liverpool: Engineers' Rooms, 48, Mt. Pleasant, Tuesdays, 8–10. Preston: Glover's Court, Wednesdays, 7.30 p.m. Rochdale: 84, Yorkshire Street, Wednesdays, 7.30 p.m.

Important Event.—

Wed., March 24, Free Trade Hall, Manchester. Mrs. Pankhurst.

Manchester.—During my absence in Southport, Preston, and Liverpool, district work has been developing splendidly, and meetings are being arranged for Hale, Chorlton, and Salford, to form part of the Manchester campaign which is to lead up to the Free Trade Hall meeting of Wednesday, March 24, when Mrs. Pankhurst will be with us. Tickets (ready this week) on application to the Ticket Secretary at the offices. Prices from 6d. to 2s. 6d., with a limited number of free seats for women workers only. Mrs. Duncan's Monday lectures are progressing favourably, and on Monday last Mde. Barbier presided over the largest gathering so far. New ground has been covered by an encouraging meeting at Mossley, when ten new members were added to the ranks.

Liverpool has vindicated its claim to be a great suffragist centre by the magnificent meeting in the Sun Hall on Friday, a report of which appears elsewhere. The *Liverpool Post* and the *Mercury* gave almost verbatim reports, and the *Courier* had a leader on the subject. The *Manchester Guardian's* headline, "Immense," was also a significant appreciation of this epoch-making meeting. This splendid result of a fortnight's work was due to the united backing of the Liverpool members, and especially to their quickness in seizing upon the importance of the occasion and their determination to send a triumphant message to the Government. Miss Mabel Capper (with the welcome help of Miss Ida Rau, of New York) carried out several advertising novelties, among them being a parade of Liverpool ex-prisoners. Miss Christabel Pankhurst was

met at the station by a crowd of at least 200 people, who cheered greatly as she emerged from the Glasgow train, and again as she drove away to Mrs. Allan Bright's home at West Derby. The phenomenal demand on membership cards certainly justified the glowing enthusiasm which marked the whole evening. I am anticipating a "crush" at the forthcoming Tuesday At Home, and hope to have to arrange for larger premises. Liverpool's great reputation means corresponding responsibilities. I feel sure this great city is going to meet them all!

Preston.—Here also the distinguishing feature of Saturday's large audience was its representative nature. A great number had, we believe, never attended a Suffragette meeting before. Miss Helen Tolson (Manchester) and the local members were engaged all the week in visiting works and factories, and it was evident that a large proportion of the audience was drawn from the ranks of women who know from personal experience the disability entailed by lack of political representation. We have many such in Preston. To these and to the members the success of Saturday's first big effort is due, and we hope very soon to follow up this initial victory with another in the same hall. Miss Pankhurst's defence of the militant policy made many converts.

Southport.—On the afternoon of the same day a crowded At Home was held in the Town Hall, Miss O'Sullivan presiding over an audience which overflowed. Interest grew into enthusiasm, and many new members were made and arrangements concluded for holding regular At Homes. The first will be on Saturday, February 27, and details will be given in next week's issue. We hope Southport will be responsible for a stall at the exhibition; it can, therefore it ought. Promises are already in hand towards the formation of a bazaar group.

One must not forget to mention the kindly action of the Mayor and Mayoress of Southport, who, being unable to come, yet had the thoughtfulness to allow Miss Pankhurst and others of us the use of the mayoral parlour for tea. As we had to leave Southport rather hastily we much appreciated this. Will inquirers in this district please continue to write to Miss O'Sullivan, 6, Park Road, who will be glad to supply all information.

Financial Report.—Per the Free Trade Hall meeting, January 19, 1909:—Ticket money, £45 2s. 2d.; programmes £2 8s. 5d.; collection, £12 1s.; total, £59 10s. 8d.

Miss Ida Rauh, New York City, £1; Mrs. A. Forrer, 5, Sandringham Road, Birkdale, £1; Miss Kingston Ashton, Preston, 10s.; per Miss Mackenzie, Manchester, 7s.; Mrs. Alice Douglas Spencer, £1 1s.; Collection at At Home (February 12), 7s. 11d.; ditto (February 5), 10s. 5d.; Mossley meeting, £1 2s. 5d.; grand total, £65 9s. 5d.

Mary Gawthorpe.

MIDLANDS.

Shop and Committee Rooms: 14, Ethel Street, Birmingham.

At Homes.—Birmingham: Edgbaston Assembly Rooms, Wednesdays, 3.30.

Wolverhampton: St. Peter's Institute, Wednesdays, 7.30.

Important Events.—Birmingham: Town Hall, February 23. Christabel Pankhurst.

Coventry: Baths Assembly Rooms, March 16. Mrs. Pankhurst.

Birmingham: Reception, Midland Hotel, March 17; Reception, Priory Rooms, Old Square, March 17. Mrs. Pankhurst.

Everything promises well for the meeting in the Town Hall on Tuesday, February 23, when Miss Christabel Pankhurst will be the speaker. Tickets, reserved, 2s. 6d. and 1s., for men and women, or 6d. unreserved, for women only, can be obtained from the offices or the ticket secretary, Miss Kate Berkley, 93, Harborne Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.

On Wednesday, March 17, a reception will be held in the Midland Hotel at 3.30, when we are to have the very great pleasure of an address from Mrs. Pankhurst. Admission will be by invitation. Members and friends who are anxious to be present on this occasion should write immediately to me at 14, Ethel Street, as there will only be a limited number of invitations issued. The weekly At Home in the Priory Rooms will be held on the same evening. Please note that that week it will be on Wednesday instead of Tuesday. As accommodation is limited admission will again be by invitation, and all members and friends who wish to be present should write at once to 14, Ethel Street, to secure invitation cards. On both occasions men are invited.

On Tuesday, while our usual evening At Home was proceeding, a number of our members, under the leadership of Miss Gye, were engaged in active work at Dudley, where Mr. Sidney Buxton was speaking at a Chamber of Commerce dinner. They endeavoured to enter the room in order to make a protest, and found the staircases in the little country hotel which led up to the first floor were guarded by several police, much to the amazement of the townspeople. Dr. Helena Jones addressed a large and interested audience in the market-place. We find we have many friends in Dudley, and before long I hope to speak at drawing-room meetings in the neighbourhood. Mrs. Impey's address on Wednesday afternoon was much ap-

preciated at Edgbaston. This At Home will not be held on February 24, but on the following Tuesday—namely, March 2—it will be held in the Midland Hotel, when Lady Isabel Margesson and myself will speak. Mrs. Bessie Smith is organising the factory-gate meetings in Birmingham. The weather has been rather against us this week. Two meetings, however, have been most satisfactory. I addressed the Clarion Scouts on Saturday. Tickets were sold for the Town Hall meeting. One of our members, Miss Lawrence, has broken our record this week by selling sixty copies of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* among her friends.

Aston.—On Monday I addressed a meeting in the Elkington Street Council Schools, organised by Miss Hobbs and Miss Griffiths. At one time we were interrupted by men who were scarcely sober. This naturally turned my address to the great advance of temperance in those countries where women are enfranchised. The audience were most enthusiastic, and our would-be interrupters marched out of the hall. At the close of the meeting we gained many new adherents to our cause.

Berkswell.—Miss Lettice Floyd is organising a meeting for March 8 in the Balsall Institute, with Mrs. Davis in the chair. Miss Floyd has kindly undertaken to be responsible for the expenses.

Coventry.—Mrs. Pankhurst is speaking in this town in the Baths Assembly Hall on March 16. Tickets, 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d., may be obtained from Miss Alice Lea, 25, Queen's Road. On March 4 the first of the monthly social evenings will be held, when I hope to address the audience.

Erdington.—Dr. Helena Jones spoke at the Labour Church in this place on Sunday. The audience contained many sympathisers, and Miss Kerry, captain of this district, with the assistance of Mrs. Humphries and the other members, hopes shortly to organise a large public meeting.

Leamington.—Miss Kennard is holding a workers' party every Thursday evening at 5.30 for the Exhibition stall. On Thursday, 25, Mrs. Kerwood will be present and give an address. I hope to speak there later on.

Wolverhampton.—The bad weather on Wednesday evening considerably interfered with the audience in St. Peter's Institute. Miss Corson, who is now in London training as an organiser, acted as chairman. This is the second organiser Wolverhampton has provided. Another excellent worker, Miss Freeth, is engaged as secretarial work every day at the Birmingham offices. We hope for more workers yet from this town. The members have decided to recommence the Speakers' Class under the leadership of Mrs. Percy Jones, who has also kindly consented to act as Exhibition Secretary. Will all members in Wolverhampton who are able to help in this work kindly write to her at Westland Road?

I am forwarding the Treasurer the following amounts this week:—J. T. Stokoe, 10s. 6d.; Miss Margaret Murch, 2s. 6d.; Miss Willison (collecting card), 10s. All donations towards the Midland campaign fund should be addressed to me at 49, Bristol Street, Birmingham.

Gladice G. Keevil.

YORKSHIRE.

Headquarters.—Bradford: 61, Manningham Lane.

At Homes.—Leeds: Arts Club, Blenheim Terrace, Woodhouse Lane, Wed., 8 p.m.

Important Events.—Leeds: Coliseum, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Tues., March 23, 8 p.m.
Bradford: St. George's Hall, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Wed., March 24, 8 p.m.

Handbills and tickets are now ready for both the above-mentioned meetings. Tickets (price 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d.) may be obtained in Bradford at 61, Manningham Lane, and in Leeds at Bean's, 17, Boar Lane. As Miss Crocker and Miss Roberts have both gone to the Glasgow bye-election, there is plenty of work for us to do, and I hope members will devote their spare time to making these meetings known.

On Tuesday, February 9, I spoke at the Huddersfield At Home, and found that several women are getting on well at the speakers' class. We have several speakers in Leeds and Bradford, and I hope other women will come forward and join the classes, so that as soon as the weather is warmer, we shall be able to hold a large number of outdoor meetings and to go further afield. On Wednesday, February 10, a very successful drawing-room meeting, arranged by Miss Lowenthal, was held in Huddersfield. In spite of very wet weather and the distance of the house from the town, over forty people were present, and a good collection was taken.

We have been making plans for raising money in Self-Denial Week. Among other suggestions are a barrel-organ and the hiring of a hawker's cart, from which we shall sell fruit, sweets, cakes, etc., to be given by members and friends. Contributions for this are urgently wanted.

Plans are being made for working-parties to make things for the Yorkshire stall at the Exhibition. As already announced, as

far as possible we should like the stall to be devoted to Yorkshire specialities, and the following list will be useful to friends:—

Parkin, cakes, sweets, pickles, bottled fruits, jams, views of Yorkshire, books, metal and basket work, sealing wax, hatpins and buttons, tents, mats, and bedroom slippers.

This week I have sent the Treasurer 5s. from Miss Midgley and £1 17s. collection (Huddersfield Drawing-room Meeting).

C. A. L. Marsh.

NEWCASTLE.

Headquarters.—38, Rye Hill.

At Homes.—Crosby's Café, Northumberland Street, Wednesdays, 3-5 and 8-10.

Important Event.—Town Hall, March 1, Mrs. Pankhurst.

During my absence in Hawick the At Homes on Wednesday were undertaken by Miss Atkinson. A band of willing helpers volunteered to go to Hexham on Saturday to advertise the meeting on Tuesday, 16th inst., arranged by Mrs. Taylor. This was done most successfully, and a great deal of interest was aroused, and many copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN sold. An interesting discussion followed my speech at a young people's guild at Sunderland on Monday, the bone of contention being, naturally, the militant tactics. Mrs. Atkinson spoke at the Socialist Institute, Percy Street, Newcastle, on Thursday, and had a most cordial reception, followed by an interesting discussion and questions.

Orders are taken for sweets, cakes, fine laundry, and fancy purses, chains, and tidies in the colours at the At Homes or at 38, Rye Hill, for Self-Denial Week funds. The sweets are so popular that orders can with difficulty be met. Orders should be sent early to avoid disappointment. A cartoon, designed by the Hon. Mrs. Parsons, is for sale, price 6d. Self-Denial cards may be had on application.

A great many more helpers to sell VOTES FOR WOMEN to their friends are required, and now the size of the paper has increased, and consequently the interesting news, there should be an ever-increasing demand for it.

Hawick Bye-Election.—Special contributions to the bye-election fund, as well as workers, are urgently needed to make our campaign there successful. Three towns, Hawick, Galashiels, and Selkirk are in the burghs, and offers of motors, dog-carts, or funds to hire such are particularly acceptable.

Owing to the absence of many Newcastle workers at the bye-election, we depend upon those who are left to undertake to make the meeting at the Town Hall on March 1 a great success. Tickets, 1s., 6d., and 3d., are to be had at Mrs. Atkinson's, 2, Devonshire Terrace, Newcastle; Dickson's, printers, High Bridge, and 38, Rye Hill. Those willing to secure the good arrangements of the meeting by acting as stewards, literature sellers, or door-keepers, please send names to Mrs. Atkinson or Miss New.

Contributions to the Newcastle stall, or promises, are invited, for the Exhibition in May at Prince's Skating Rink.

Edith New.

SCOTLAND.

Glasgow.

Office: 141, Bath Street.

At Homes.—141, Bath Street, Thursday, 8 p.m.

Charing Cross Halls, Saturday, 3 p.m.

Important Events.—Athenæum, March 2. Mrs. Pankhurst.

University, March 3. Mrs. Pankhurst.

A large audience assembled to hear Mrs. Drummond speak on Saturday afternoon; all the available seats were occupied some little time before the At Home began. Mrs. Drummond's appeal for workers brought in several offers of help. Mrs. Turner also kindly volunteered the use of her motor-car to advertise Mrs. Pankhurst's meeting. We shall be exceedingly glad to have the loan of other vehicles, motor, carriage, etc., for this sort of purpose. The speaker on February 20 will be Miss Adela Pankhurst, who has not paid a visit to Glasgow for a long time. Two Glasgow members were able to go on Thursday and spend a week at Forfar. The Thursday At Home was again crowded, and we had the pleasure of a short speech from Miss Christabel Pankhurst, who was in Glasgow for a night or two on business connected with the bye-election.

So much time and energy during the next two weeks will be absorbed in the work of the bye-election, that we are trusting the success of the Athenæum meeting on Tuesday, March 2, at which Mrs. Pankhurst will speak, largely to the help of our members. Tickets, price 2s. (reserved), 1s., and 6d., and bills for distribution may be obtained from 141, Bath Street. As we are so much occupied in the Central Division we should be very grateful to those who will undertake to make this meeting known a little further afield.

The Guarantee Fund has received further contributions, for which we thank Miss Ingleton, 5s.; the Misses Henderson, £2; Mrs. Toner, £1; Miss Melville, £1; Miss Strickland, 2s. 6d.; Miss Thomson, £5.

Paisley.—The meeting in Paisley will take place on Tuesday, February 23, at 3 p.m., in the Board Room of the George A. Clark Town Hall. The subject of discussion will be "The Value

of the Vote to Women, and the Extension of the W.S.P.U. in Paisley." Several of our members have helped in getting up this meeting by sending cards to friends who are likely to be interested. We should be very glad to hear from others who are willing to do the same. These may be obtained from the Glasgow office, 141, Bath Street. An evening meeting will be held in Paisley towards the end of March, probably Tuesday, March 30. The place and names of speakers will be given later.

G. M. Conolan.

Edinburgh.

Shop: 100, Hanover Street, Workers' Meeting, Mondays, 8 p.m.

At Homes.—54, Shandwick Place, Wednesdays, 4 p.m.

Green Café, Wednesdays, 8 p.m.

Society of Arts, 117, George Street, Thursdays, 8.30.

Important Event.—The Synod, March 4, Mrs. Pankhurst.

The approaching bye-election will, we hope, quicken the already lively interest of the people of Edinburgh in our "Votes for Women" campaign. We are holding open-air meetings at various pitches, while continuing our programme for the rest of Edinburgh. Miss Adela Pankhurst spoke very impressively at Mrs. Maxtone-Graham's drawing-room meeting on the 8th about the position of the working woman and her need of the vote. At our last Thursday At Home in George Street, Miss Lees took the chair and Miss Helen Ogston was the speaker; those present were deeply interested. That evening Miss Ogston and myself addressed a sympathetic meeting of women students, and later on we explained our aims and methods to the policemen coming on and going off duty at the Torphichen Street Police Station at 9.30 and 10.15 p.m. This, by the kind permission of the chief constable, we are also to do at the three other headquarter stations. On Monday morning Miss Ogston and I are to speak at the fourth drawing-room meeting that Mrs. Maxtone-Graham has kindly arranged, and in the evening Miss Ogston is to address a meeting of women graduates. As our next Thursday At Home will take place two days after the reading of the King's Speech, "What we shall do on the 24th" will be, of course, the chief thing we shall talk about. The women who are ready to face imprisonment for renewing their demand for political freedom will assuredly have the sympathy of their sisters in Edinburgh.

We are holding our Wednesday evening At Homes for the future in the Marshall Street Hall, instead of the Green Café, as the clatter of crockery and the passing to and fro of customers made it difficult for the audience to hear the speaker. Miss Helen Ogston, in spite of the noise, gave a most interesting address on Wednesday, February 10.

For the present the Monday evening meeting of workers is suspended, as we shall all be engaged at open-air meetings for the bye-election. We need workers of all kinds. Will all those who are anxious to do something for the cause so dear to us write to, or call at, 100, Hanover Street. There is work waiting for everyone, the nature of which we shall be only too happy to explain to those who will volunteer to undertake it.

Donations this week: Miss Leathan, £1; Miss Meredith (for the bye-election fund), 5s.; Collections, £1 7s. 6d.

F. E. M. Macaulay.

Aberdeen.

Office: Crown Mansions, 41½, Union Street.

At Homes.—Crown Mansions, 41½, Union Street, first Wednesday in every month at 3 p.m.; every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Important Event.—The Music Hall, March 5. Mrs. Pankhurst.

Our At Home in the Round Room on Monday was more largely attended than on the two previous occasions, and we were glad to announce to our friends the changes which we have found necessary to make, namely, that now our offices are so suitably furnished, we can hold our At Homes there, and so save the expense of the Round Room each week; also that, for the time being, we shall hold these At Homes on the first Wednesday in each month, when we hope all members and friends will make a point of being present. We have decided to hold the weekly At Homes each Wednesday night instead of Thursday, and by so doing we shall, I think, meet the wants of all classes. We shall still hold our speakers' class every Friday at 7.30. I have met several ladies this week who, I think, will be "real friends" of the movement, having promised to subscribe to our Aberdeen campaign fund. They are much interested in the work we are doing.

There is much to be done this next fortnight in making Mrs. Pankhurst's meeting a success, and we hope that all who will help will send in their names at once to me. We want at least 30 stewards and literature sellers, and it depends largely on the response to this appeal whether I am able to carry out my scheme or not.

We have had several useful articles given us for the office this week, and I am also pleased to be able to send a subscription of £3 2s., which was handed to me by Mrs. Innes (the former Treasurer) on behalf of the local branch. Also Anon., 5s. 6d., Anon., 2s. I hope there are many others who will send me in donations, as our work in Aberdeen cannot be done without expense.

S. Ada Flatman.

THE CONSERVATIVE WOMEN'S FRANCHISE ASSOCIATION.

The Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association has been holding successful meetings in various parts of England and Scotland. Lady Lowe presided at a meeting in Edinburgh on the 29th ult., and on the following day a packed meeting was held at the Windsor Hotel, Glasgow, both of which were addressed by Miss Packer (Lady Margaret Hall). There was great enthusiasm; Circles were started and the work of organisation begun. It is interesting to note that the large majority of members were also members of the Primrose League. A week's organisation in Somersetshire and Gloucestershire resulted in the formation of Circles at Bath and Bristol, and meetings have been arranged for the 22nd and 23rd respectively, when Lady Knightley of Fawsley, President of the Association, will be the principal speaker. The work in London is increasing by leaps and bounds.

THE ACTRESS'S FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

On February 23 there will be a meeting for members only at 3, Bedford Street, Strand, in the studio, at 3 o'clock, when Miss Winifred Mayo will "receive" for the League. On March 5 there will be a meeting for members and their friends at the Dover Street Studios, kindly lent by Mr. Hamburger. Miss Alice Crawford will "receive" for the League, and Miss Abadam, of the National Union, has kindly consented to be the speaker. The speeches begin punctually at 3 o'clock.—ADELINE BOURNE, Honorary Secretary.

THE ARTISTS' LEAGUE.

A prize of £4 and several smaller prizes of £1 are being offered by the Artists' League for the best design for a poster, suitable for use at elections. The designs should be preferably in black and white, but three colours may be used. The size is 20 inches by 30 inches, and thumbnail sketches of the design it is proposed to submit may be sent in as a preliminary. These should reach the Secretary, 259, King's Road, London, S.W., by February 27. The finished posters must be sent in by the last day in March.

IRISH WOMEN'S FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

The Irish Women's Franchise League, now three months old, on December 12 held a large and enthusiastic public meeting in The Hall, Merrion Row, where a resolution in favour of Women's Suffrage was unanimously carried. Weekly meetings were held in January and February in a large room at the Contemporary Club—generously placed at the disposal of the League by a member—and at Mrs. Barry's hotel, 1, Great Denmark Street. These meetings were very successful, many new members joining, a substantial amount being collected and promised at each. At Mrs. Barry's on January 26 Miss Kathleen Sheehy, B.A., daughter of Mr. Sheehy, M.P., made a brilliant *début* as a speaker. Mr. T. M. Kettle, M.P., also spoke at this meeting. Arrangements have been made for holding meetings in the concluding weeks of February and in March. Though so young, the League has felt itself strong enough to take the Abbey Theatre for a public meeting on March 2. The Irish Suffragettes were very much in evidence at the gathering of the National Convention on February 9, at which delegates from all parts of Ireland discussed matters of moment. A little band of Leaguers distributed leaflets to the members of Parliament and delegates; one of these leaflets specially called on delegates to vote for the "Votes for Women" resolution, which was on the Convention agenda. This, we regret to say, was lost by a small majority; but the Irish Women's Franchise League hopes to change all that by the time the Convention next meets. The address of the League is 34, Wicklow Street, Dublin.

K. M. SHANNON, Hon. Secretary.

INTERNATIONAL SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE.

The International Suffrage Alliance, of which Mrs. Chapman Catt is President, will hold its meetings from April 26 to May 1 (except on Thursday and Saturday afternoons), in St. James's Hall. There will also be a large public meeting on the evening of April 30 at St. James's Hall. On Thursday, April 29, a large number of the delegates to the International Congress will be present, by special invitation sent to them in September last, at a meeting organised by the Women's Social and Political Union in the Royal Albert Hall, at which Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will preside. They are also to be favoured with another meeting subsequently arranged in the Albert Hall by the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies for April 27.

THE GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF WOMEN.

By fifty to forty votes the Fellows of the Geological Society have rejected a proposal to admit women to membership.

872,000 WOMEN VOTERS.

A Parliamentary return issued last week at the instance of Mr. Cameron Corbett, M.P., gives the number of women in England and Wales who are entitled to vote "for county councils and for councillors in municipal boroughs."

For county councils the women on the register number 606,000, and for county boroughs 266,000, making a total of 872,000 women voters. Counties and boroughs with the largest number of women voters are as follows:—

Counties.	Voters.	Boroughs.	Voters.
London	119,000	Manchester	17,000
Yorkshire	53,000	Liverpool	15,000
Lancaster	47,000	Birkenhead	14,000
Kent	23,000	Leeds	12,000
Middlesex	20,000	Bradford	10,000

In Wales there are 48,000 women voters, including 6,000 in the three county boroughs.

CAMBERWELL W.S.P.U.—The officials of this newly-formed Union are: Miss Dawson, Hon. Sec., 3, The Malsonette, Vealey Road, Camberwell; Miss Walsh, Hon. Treas., 44, Bushey Hill Road, Camberwell; and Miss Curtis, Hon. Lit. Sec., 14, Brunswick Square, Peckham Road, S.E.

**The Labour-saving Washboard.**

Mrs. Simple—"There was a man here a few minutes ago with a patent labour-saving washboard. I don't believe in these new-fangled things—but he was such a nice talker, I let him leave one."

Anty Drudge—"Fudge! That's just like some foolish women. Change one form of labour for another—and call it labour saving. Labour-saving washboard! Nonsense! Get a bar of Fels-Naptha soap!"

What's the difference between Fels-Naptha and other laundry soaps?

Other soaps work only when you do. Fels-Naptha soap works while you rest, but without harm to the most delicate fabric.

The Fels-Naptha way of washing is as simple as it is easy. You wet the pieces to be washed, rub on the soap well,

then roll and put to soak for thirty minutes. During this half-hour Fels-Naptha loosens the dirt and dissolves the grease. Saves you all the hard rubbing on the washboard. The dirt comes out by light rubbing and rinsings. No scalding nor boiling, and no swollen knuckles or aching back from laborious washboard work.

Why not let Fels-Naptha do it?

Fels-Naptha
will do it. Isn't it worth trying?

LOCAL NOTES.

Birmingham W.S.P.U.—A special meeting of stall workers was held at the office, No. 14, Ethel Street, Birmingham, on the 15th inst. The object of the meeting was to fully consider plans and suggestions likely to promote the complete success of the forthcoming "Exhibition of the Colours," so far as Birmingham is concerned. It may be the local Union will join hands with the Midlands, in which case the stall will probably be known as "The Birmingham and Midlands." Mrs. Kerwood, one of our Vice-Presidents, who is working so energetically for the cause at Barnt Green, was appointed Joint Exhibition Secretary with Mrs. Lucy Calway, and a Sub-Committee of ladies was formed, who undertook to purchase and cut out materials to be made into garments by voluntary workers. Interest and enthusiasm are now fairly aroused. Miss C. A. Neale has kindly offered twenty ties to be sold at 1s. each, and Mrs. Calway also reports the following, although, unfortunately, I have not the names. The articles promised are a 5s. doll, a dozen "Suffragette" dolls, half a dozen infants' woollen jackets, half a dozen infants' woollen boots, half a dozen d'oyleys, a table centre, tray cloth, and afternoon tablecloth (all worked), and from Miss Pugh, a new member, a donation of 10s. By the time this report appears the work will be well in hand, and a further meeting of stall workers will be held on the 22nd inst. Will all members of the Birmingham Union kindly note that communications directly relating to the Exhibition and donations should be addressed to either Mrs. Edith Kerwood, Watling House, Barnt Green, near Birmingham, or Mrs. Lucy Calway, 125, Alcester Road, Moseley, Birmingham. Financial and other assistance is earnestly solicited.

ELIZABETH REDFERN.

Brighton and Hove W.S.P.U.—The cold weather has interfered somewhat with our outdoor work. We held our usual open-air meeting on the Front, Wednesday, the 10th inst., and sold some VOTES FOR WOMEN. On Thursday, 11th, we held a Committee meeting at 50, Preston Street, at which it was decided to have half a stall at the Women's Exhibition. The Hon. Sec. was requested to write and ask Mrs. Jones, at Eastbourne, if the Union there would join us in the other half-stall. Miss A. Davis, 86, King's Road, Hon. Sec. for the Vork Stall, will be glad to receive work and articles for stall and offers of work. Miss E. M. White read a letter from Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, in which she said that the National Union would select an organiser for Brighton if the local Union would supply £100 a year, the sum necessary. Mrs. Schofield, Miss Hare, and Mrs. McKeown reported that they had inspected the offices, 8 (not 18), North Street Quadrant, and that they considered them suitable. The Committee decided to take offices for a year if the landlord agrees to our terms. It was also decided to take the Dome for some date the end of March. A meeting for members was arranged for Tuesday, February 16, at 200, Western Road, Express Dairy, at 8 p.m.

I. G. McKEOWN.

Brixton W.S.P.U.—The members of the Committee met on the 8th inst. and agreed to advertise the Women's Parliament by distributing handbills, chalking pavements, and holding outdoor meetings. We hope to hold three meetings this week: at White Horse, corner of Angell Road, on Thursday, 18th inst., at 8 p.m.; Brockwell Park on Sunday, 21st inst., at 3.30 p.m., when Miss Naylor will speak, and I shall take the chair. A drawing-room meeting will be held at Mrs. Freke's, 4, Mount Ephraim Lane, Streatham, on Friday, 19th inst., at 8 p.m. Local members and friends are invited to attend.

K. S. TANNER.

Chelsea W.S.P.U.—There is every promise of our Art Stall being a great success. We have sent out nearly 500 postcards, asking for gifts, and have had some valuable promises and suggestions, but as there are only twelve more weeks for work members should make up their minds as to what they can do and write to the Sec., 51, Beaufort Mansions. We shall have to keep our stall supplied with bright and pretty things for twelve days, which means a big stock in reserve. If friends and members will give contributions of their work, even though they do not think them suitable for the Art Stall, we may think so, and if not, can exchange them with another stall that has gifts suitable for ours. Self-denial week is at hand; every individual member ought to have made plans as to how she will contribute to the fund. All the collecting pitches and collectors have been arranged for, but there are many other ways of raising a sum worthy of Chelsea. We have undertaken during self-denial week to have our members with collecting boxes at the stations, the Tube, Knightsbridge, Sloane Square, and Walham Green, and we should have liked to have arranged for Victoria Station, too. Will members kindly send in their names as willing to help in this and other ways during self-denial week? We have been thinking how we can be ready for the next General Election. Miss Mayo has kindly offered us her valuable help in elocution, and has started a debate class for beginners, so that we shall be able to supply speakers when that busy time arrives. The first lesson was held at Miss Haig's Studio, at 8.45 last Monday, and will be continued weekly. We would remind members of the Suffrage Debate at Queen's Gate Hall, Harrington Road, S.W., to-morrow (Friday), at 3 p.m. The speakers will be Miss Helen Ogston and G. Calderon, Esq. Tickets, 2s. 6d. and 1s. each, can be bought at the hall.

CHARLOTTE BLACKLOCK.

Forest Gate and Wanstead W.S.P.U.—Our monthly meeting, held on Monday, the 8th inst., was very well attended. Miss Mordan gave us a splendid address, which was very evidently appreciated by the large number of strangers who were present. Will friends in the neighbourhood please note that our monthly meeting is always held on the second Monday in each month in Earlham Hall. All are welcome. Admission free. I hope all our friends will start at once making things towards our contribution to the Exhibition in May. We are meeting next Monday to make all our arrangements in connection with this. After that meeting I shall be able to give further details.

M. E. SLEIGHT.

Hendon W.S.P.U.—A very successful drawing-room meeting was held here on Wednesday, February 3, when Miss Seymour and Miss Adela Pankhurst addressed a crowded audience; many converts were made, and seven or eight new members added to our list. We are now hard at work for the Exhibition. Mrs. Wyatt has a large stock of materials on hand, and holds work meetings on Tuesdays at 8 p.m., and Fridays at 4 p.m., at Derby House, Parson Street. Will all friends in North-West London willing to help communicate with Mrs. Wyatt at once. We can find work for all helpers.

FRANCES V. CREATON.

Hornsey W.S.P.U.—The past fortnight has been for our local Union one of decided progress in the matter of enthusiasm and work, if not of increase in the numbers at our meetings. At a workers' gathering on Thursday, the 4th, those present offered themselves readily for all kinds of service, and their number was enlarged at our regular fortnightly meeting at "Ye China Cup" on Friday, the 12th, when Miss Joan Dugdale spoke for us. As

a net result we have already received promises of work for the Exhibition to the value of £48, ten women have become members of the Union, a Votes Corps of eight helpers has been formed, who are each undertaking one evening a month at first, and going out in couples. Ten of our members have also been chalking in the various wards of Hornsey, in order to advertise the event of February 24. They have decided to drive round Hornsey on Saturday, the 20th, in a decorated brake, in order to make the day known to everybody. Handbills will be distributed and short speeches made at various points en route. As several are unable to join us at the beginning of the journey, we should be very glad of extra helpers, who could meet us outside Finsbury Park Station at 12.30 p.m.

THEODORA BONWICK.

Kensington W.S.P.U.—Last year we raised a very fair sum of money for our self-denial fund by collecting at the railway stations, so we have applied to the Commissioner of Police for permission to collect in the same way this year. We should like to collect at four places—Westbourne Grove, Notting Hill Gate, High Street, and Earl's Court, from 11 to 1 each morning, 2 to 4 each afternoon at all four stations, and from 7 to 9 each evening at Notting Hill Gate. Two collectors are on duty at each place, so we require a long list of members willing to help in this. Will those who have not yet promised definite days and hours please call at the shop, 143, Church Street, and enter their names and hours on the lists they will find there. We should not like our contribution to the self-denial fund to fall below the sum we gathered last year, so beg that all our members will consider what aid they can give us. Some friends have promised us a tenth part of their income for the week; others are denying themselves a customary luxuries, and all have their minds bent on giving whatever they possibly can while their fellow-workers are in prison.

LOUISE M. EATES.

Leicester W.S.P.U.—A special meeting was held on Thursday, February 11, to discuss our work for the Exhibition in May. We found we could not undertake a stall, so many of the members promised to send up articles for sale, and we hope to induce many sympathisers to help also. Self-denial week was also discussed, and promises were given to take cards and do all that was possible to make it a great success. A resolution was passed, and sent to the members of the Cabinet demanding the immediate enfranchisement of women. We reminded Mr. Herbert Gladstone that when he was in Leicester he said that his wife was a Suffragette, so we enclosed a letter for her asking her to help us with our Exhibition either by personal service or by contributions. We are waiting very eagerly for the King's Speech, and hope to see Votes for Women included.

ALICE HAWKINS.

Lewisham W.S.P.U.—Our At Home on Friday, February 12, was well attended. The proceedings were opened by the singing of the Woman's Marseillaise, led off by Miss H. Lightman, who, later on in the evening, gave an address on the grievances of women in their present voteless state, and on the necessity of militant tactics. Miss C. D. Townshend made a stirring little speech, urging members to join the deputation to the House of Commons on February 24, and Mrs. Florence treated us to some excellent singing. Miss Billingham made an appeal to members to do their utmost during self-denial week, and pointed out that at the suggestion of Mrs. P. Lawrence all sums collected locally during that week will be put to the credit of the Lewisham Union, to meet the expenses connected with the better working of the district, which, in addition to Lewisham, includes Greenwich and Deptford. With reference to the Exhibition, it was agreed to accept Mrs. Tanner's (Sec. of the Brixton Union) proposal to have a joint stall, and also to invite the newly formed Camberwell and Peckham Union to have a share in it. Up till now members of our Union have guaranteed goods to the amount of £35. It was also decided to hold monthly meetings in a small hall, to which the public will be admitted, instead of the At Homes in private houses. A collection was taken, VOTES FOR WOMEN and pamphlets were sold, and Miss Olive Billingham did a brisk trade with various kinds of delicious sweets of her own making. The gathering broke up after a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. and Mrs. Soskice, in whose house the At Home had been held. J. A. BOUVIER.

Wimbledon W.S.P.U.—In his account of the men's meeting at the Lecture Hall, Wimbledon Common, on February 3, the representative of the Surrey Comet writes:—"The local branch of the Women's Social and Political Union has obtained a firm hold in the district, and has organised many meetings, which have been addressed by prominent movers in the Woman Suffrage agitation. On Wednesday it made a new departure by arranging a meeting for men only, with the idea of interesting those of the masculine gender in the movement, and if possible of obtaining their support. Although the attendance was somewhat small, the audience was evidently sympathetic, and listened to the arguments of the speakers, Mr. J. Cameron Grant, Mr. E. D. Duval, and Dr. F. A. Bather (chair), with keen interest." The following resolution was carried with only one dissentient:—"That in the opinion of this meeting of men the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women on the same terms as to men would be of benefit to the nation." Acknowledgments have since been received from the member for the Wimbledon division and from members of the Cabinet, to each of whom a copy of this resolution was sent.

M. GRANT.

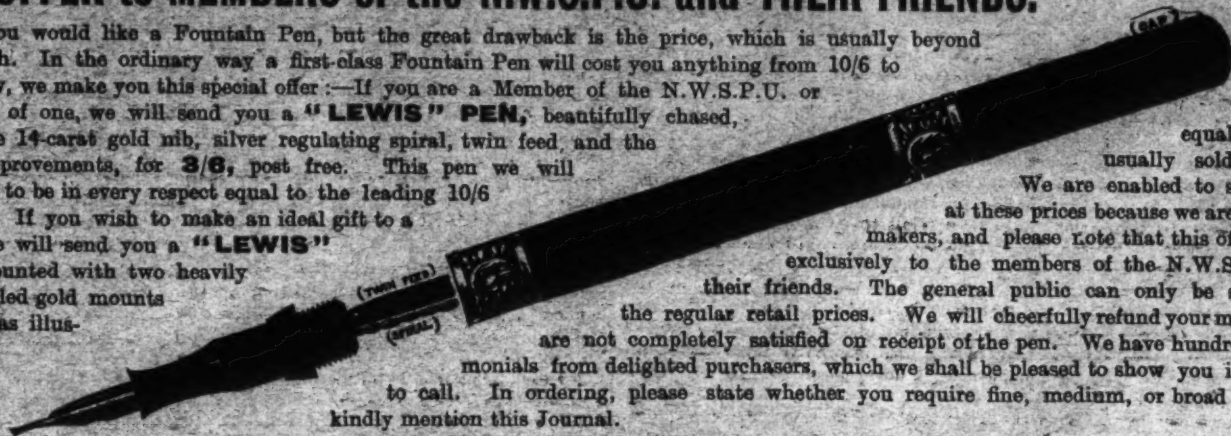
Y.H.B.—Until February 24 the Y.H.B. are concentrating their efforts on the Women's Parliament and plans for self-denial week, several of our number taking part in the dinner-hour and evening meetings, and rapidly becoming fluent speakers. At the meeting held last Saturday we decided to have home-made sweets on sale at Clements Inn the week previous to self-denial week, so that all members and friends will be enabled to buy. Will all members of the Y.H.B. not present last Saturday please note this, and let us have home-made sweets for this purpose by Monday, the 22nd? We also decided to send a choir to sing Suffrage songs outside Holloway every evening so long as one Suffrage prisoner remains inside. The next meeting will be held at Alan's Tea Rooms on Saturday, February 20, at 4.30.

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The Wimbledon W.S.P.U. have published several leaflets of songs, the latest of which contains "A Free Field" and "Freedom of Speech." The price is 1d. for four leaflets; local Unions, 8d. per 100, post free.

WOMEN SANITARY INSPECTORS.

The industrial committee of the National Union of Women Workers has recently made an inquiry of twenty-one London boroughs employing women sanitary inspectors as to the nature of their work. Seventeen boroughs have sent full replies. The result of the inquiry, the hon. secretary states, seems to show that full use is not being made of the capabilities of service of these officers. Only five boroughs allow their women sanitary inspectors to visit tenement and lodging houses, where in a majority of cases the restrictions placed upon them in dealing with their cases and communicating with their committee would make it difficult for them to carry their work to a successful issue.

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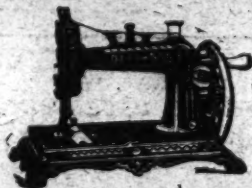
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